

IN THESE TIMES

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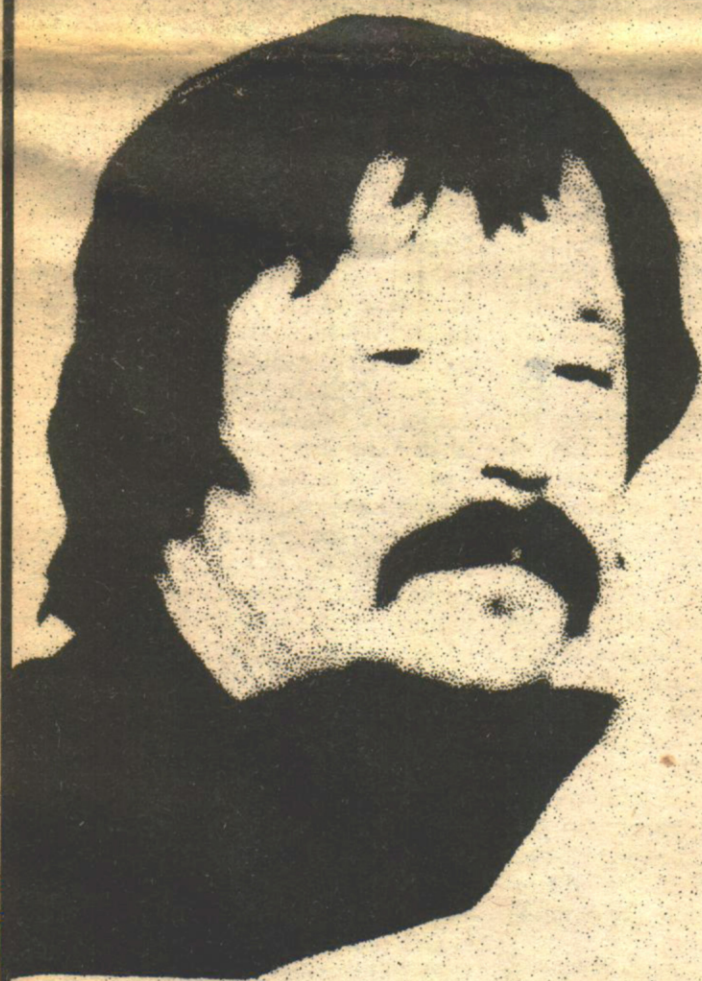
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(Left) Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee at their recent convention. See Page 6. (Photo by Jane Melnick)



The German Darkness Descends

The German darkness
Descends over my spirit
It darkens overpowering
in my song

It comes because I see my Germany
So deeply torn
I find myself in the better half
And have twice the sorrow

—Translated by A. Rabinbach/J. Benjamin

When Germany Cried Wolf!

Once upon a time there was a boy
named Wolf who sang songs that his
government didn't like —
So they exiled him to a foreign land. . .

Continued on page 12.

IN THESE TIMES

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Main Office
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(312) 489-4444
TWX: 910-221-5401
Cable: THESETIMES, Chicago, IL

Washington Office
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San Francisco Office
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NEWSFRONT

Ford's men: where are they now?

"I really don't know why you have im-
peded Amtrak's progress during your
term in office," complained the railroad's
vice president Edwin E. Edel in a letter to
outgoing Transportation Secretary Wil-
liam T. Coleman. Edel was irred by Cole-
man's remarks reported in *Aviation Daily*
comparing passenger trains to "the out-
house." "At one time it made a lot of
sense," Coleman was quoted, "but once
you got plumbing, there is no doubt you
put out of business the people who made
outhouses."

One explanation for Mr. Edel might lie
in just where Mr. Coleman himself is in
business these days. He's been put back
on the board of directors of Pan Ameri-
can World Airways, which he left in 1975
to take over at the Transportation depart-
ment. Coleman's anticipation to rejoin his
old friends at Pan Am may have some-
thing to do with his sentiments, such as
calling the taxpayer subsidy on the 18-
hour Boston-to-Chicago train ride "the
most ridiculous thing in the world when
you can fly there in 1 hour 15 minutes."

Amtrak countered that the run was over-
whelmingly used by short-distance riders
along the way for whom flying was not an
option.

Coleman's final days at Transportation
were marked by an unusual amount of last-
minute decision-making. He pleased high-
way builders by giving the go-ahead to the
controversial I-66 project in Virginia and
delighted the automobile industry by bar-
ring a proposed requirement that all new
cars install air bag safety devices. The new
Secretary, Brock Adams, reversed the lat-
ter decision, saying he "could not ration-
alize it."

►Revolving door.

Coleman is the Ford cabinet's most glar-
ing practitioner of the "revolving door"
approach to public service whereby bur-
eaucrats and legislators move from gov-
ernment right into the industries and busi-
nesses they supervised, regulated, or some-
how affected. Coleman, the Republicans'
only black Cabinet officer, moved back to
Pan Am upon his departure, along with
joining the boards of IBM, Pepsi-Cola
and Amax, a mining concern. He also sits
on the boards of the RAND Corporation
and the Brookings Institute, think tanks
that feed a steady stream of people into
high levels of government management.

All this and still unemployed. While
looking for something more permanent,
Coleman is collecting a "modest stipend"
for a two-month stint as a "guest scholar"
at the Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholars. His task there is to
write on the subject of "decision-making
processes at the Cabinet level and relation-
ships between the Cabinet and the Presi-
dent."



William T. Coleman, Ford's Transportation Secretary.

Photo by UPI

For the most part, these once high-level administrators can slip in and out of academia or the corporate boardrooms with a comfortable degree of obscurity.

The Wilson Center is a stopping ground
for other famous names on the jobless ros-
ters, such as defeated Ohio Gov. John Gil-
ligan and ex-NATO Commander Andrew
Goodpaster. Former Secretary of Com-
merce Elliott Richardson stopped off there
after being axed as Attorney-General in
the notorious Saturday Night Massacre.

Richardson's staying power, however,
turned out to be greater than Nixon's,
and he left the Wilson Center with his
book (*The Creative Balance*) unfinished
to become Ambassador to England un-
der Ford. A term at Commerce followed,
and now he's back at State as Carter's
Ambassador-at-Large to negotiate the
Law of the Sea treaties. The last Law of
the Sea Ambassador, T. Vincent Learson,
is back with his old firm, Chemical Bank
of New York.

►Prosperity will follow Simon.

Speaking of IBM, which sent three of its
present directors to the Carter Cabinet,
Coleman will be joined there by Carla
A. Hills who administered the sprawling
Department of Housing and Urban De-
velopment (HUD). She also plans to join
Southern California Edison, a utility, and
an undisclosed third corporate board. She
says she plans to accept speaking engage-
ments at Harvard and Yale as a "disting-
uished fellow" and "take my children
to Europe in June."

One cabinet officer whose future is
being watched with interest is former Sec-
retary William Simon. His old Wall Street
investment firm, Salomon Brothers, pro-
fesses ignorance of everything except his
new syndicated radio program produced
by the same outfit that sends out the pack-
aged wisdom of Ronald Reagan. Simon's
contacts are now so good and his IOUs so
extensive, noted one observer, that
"where he goes, prosperity will follow."

Agriculture really has two departing
secretaries. Agribusiness' beloved Earl
Butz, who broke the rules by flashing his
racism in the wrong company, is pastur-
ing at Purdue University's Department
of Agriculture. His caretaker replace-
ment, John Knebel, is putting together
an "agricultural law practice" with the
Washington firm of Baker & McKenzie.
When pressed to discuss his business, he
snapped, "I choose not to, thank you,"
depriving us of the opportunity to put
our conflict-of-interest suspicions to rest.

►Top lawyers also do well.

The government's last top lawyer, Edward
Levi, is back at his former post as presi-
dent of the University of Chicago. The
Wall Street Journal also notes his ap-
pointment as a director of the Chicago
Board of Trade, the commodities ex-
change.

Another erstwhile Attorney General,
former Ohio Senator William Saxbe, has
just returned from an ambassadorial post
in India to set up a law practice in a reor-
ganized Washington firm, Cook, Hender-
son & Saxbe. Although his office claims
ignorance, Saxbe has joined at least one
corporate board, Mohawk Rubber, a
small Akron-based rubber manufacturer.

As for the rest of the Ford cabinet:
former Labor Secretary John Dunlop al-
most made the leap across party lines back
into his old job at Labor, which, though
unsuccessful, demonstrated the broad un-
animity of the two-party state in matters
of labor policy. Instead, he's now at Har-
vard Business School as a professor of
business administration. Dunlop's re-
placement, after he quit when Ford re-
negeed on a promise to the AFL-CIO, was
the shadowy W.J. Usery. About Usery,
it is said only that he is "in Georgia" (ap-
propriately enough) and considering form-
ing his own business—consulting on
labor-management relations.

One-time Pentagon chief James Schles-
inger did survive the change of party, of
course, and now wields considerable influ-
ence as Carter's energy advisor. Schles-
inger's replacement at Defense, Donald
Rumsfeld, is presently untraceable.

Former HEW Secretary David Mat-
thews is back at the University of Ala-
bama as President, while ex-Interior head
Thomas Kleppe is taking a "90-120 day
vacation."

For the most part, these once high-level
administrators can slip in and out of aca-
demia or the corporate boardrooms with a
comfortable degree of obscurity. Hot star
properties, though, can make a killing sell-
ing their stardom and would have a hard
time hiding in any case. Thus, Henry Kis-
singer will be entering our living rooms for
the next five years as a guest commentator
for NBC. Kissinger has also sold his mem-
oirs to a publishing house for an undis-
closed sum rumored to be over \$1 million.

—Tim Frasca

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Rent control: a rising issue

By Dennis Keating and Susan Climo
Pacific News Service

One-third of all renters in the U.S. pay more than they can afford for housing, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' breakdown of necessary living expenses. With soaring rentals putting the squeeze on other necessities, city after city is witnessing the birth of a hot new issue: rent control.

If the trend continues, it could have far-reaching consequences.

"Rent control," says Prof. Beau Brincefield of the American University business school, "is totally altering the concept of real estate as we have known it in the U.S."

"We are in a transition from property being viewed as a commodity to property being viewed as a social resource that must be committed to the best interests of society."

To counter that trend, landlord and real estate organizations this year launched a counter-attack.

•In California, real estate interests pushed a bill prohibiting rent control through the legislature, only to have Gov. Jerry Brown veto it five minutes before it would have become law. Observers expect the California Housing Council, a developer and apartment-owner group that reportedly raised \$300,000 to finance the legislation, to push the bill again in 1977.

Meanwhile local rent control campaigns are underway or expected in student communities like Davis, Santa Barbara and Berkeley—whose rent control law was recently declared unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court.

•The California sequence followed a similar passage and veto of a statewide rent control prohibition bill in Florida last June. Florida's major rent-controlled city is Miami Beach, where many elderly residents live on fixed incomes.

•Under heavy pressure from both landlord and tenant groups, the Massachusetts

state legislature allowed a six-year-old local option law to lapse last spring, thus requiring rent-controlled cities to seek special legislation from their own city councils. In Boston, the largest city with controls, the City Council voted to continue the policy with one important amendment: rents are now allowed to rise when tenants move out of a dwelling.

•In Washington, D.C., where rent control was instituted in 1974, a court ruled in June that the law did not allow landlords to raise rents fast or high enough. A new law complying with the ruling was passed in August, for the first time exempting new construction, recently rehabilitated buildings and those with four units or less.

•In New Jersey, more than 100 communities have adopted local rent control since 1972. Landlords are pushing for a uniform state rent control law that would weaken the impact of many of the local laws.

•And in dozens of other cities across the country tenant groups have launched rent control campaigns, usually with little success. These include major metropolitan centers like Philadelphia, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Seattle and Chicago.

►Destroying housing markets?

The many legislative and electoral battles have been accompanied by stringing debate between tenants and landlords over the impact of rent control.

Organizations like the Association of Realtors and the Institute of Real Estate Management argue that by taking the profit out of owning rental property, rent control will ultimately deplete the housing supply. Owners will be driven out of the market and new construction will lag.

New York City, which froze all rents before World War II, is often cited as an example. After 30 years of imbalance between inflation and stable rental rates, the city finally decontrolled many units and

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Soaring rents are putting the squeeze on other necessities.

allowed annual rent increases in others in the late '60s and early '70s. But many still argue that the New York housing market is suffering.

In most other rent-controlled cities, however, rents are not frozen but are allowed to rise under the supervision of a regulatory board.

Landlords are often required to prove that their operating costs or taxes have risen before an increase is passed on. And in many cities, new construction is encouraged by exemption from rent controls.

This more modern form of rent control, advocates argue, protects tenants from exorbitant rent hikes without damaging the ability of landlords to maintain their buildings and construct new ones.

Both sides of the debate have produced studies by experts to support their case. And not surprisingly, the conclusions are often diametrically opposed.

In Boston, a city council-commissioned study concluded that rent control had had no adverse impact on the city's economy. It found that new construction of multifamily units proceeded faster after rent controls than before, and likewise that rent-controlled areas in Massachusetts showed higher construction rates than non-controlled areas.

But a landlord-commissioned study by Prof. George Sternlieb, director of

Urban Policy research at Rutgers University, concluded almost exactly the opposite. Sternlieb stated that rent control had weakened Boston's tax base by holding down new construction and discouraging property maintenance.

John Gilderbloom, who has begun a similar study for the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD), charges that Sternlieb's report "was biased, incomplete and unrepresentative of the rent control experience."

Gilderbloom says Sternlieb's sampling of landlords was too small to be statistically relevant and that his samples were provided by real estate agencies with vested interests.

Gilderbloom has studied the tax base of 110 rent-controlled cities in Massachusetts, New Jersey and Florida. Though he plans to expand the sample before reaching any definitive conclusions, he says his findings so far indicate that the tax base in rent-controlled cities has increased, new construction has stayed even with non-controlled areas and property maintenance has improved under rent control.

Dennis Keating writes frequently on housing and teaches in U.C. Berkeley's Department of City and Regional Planning. Susan Climo is a Bay Area freelance journalist.

British Labor Party's right wing still in the saddle

By Mervyn Jones

London. Cabinet appointments following the death of British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland show Prime Minister James Callaghan's determination to press on with existing economic policies despite mounting difficulties. Crosland, though considered a right-winger through most of his career, had become frankly dissatisfied with the administration's deflationary policies, which required severe welfare cuts in continuing high unemployment.

In December 1976, during long tense cabinet discussions on an International Monetary Fund loan to Britain, he delivered a fullscale and by all accounts very powerful attack on its terms, which demanded domestic austerity as a condition of the loan.

He finally withdrew his opposition because the alternative was an open split with the cabinet, the probable collapse of the government, and the uncontrollable fall of the pound, but he made it clear that he was by no means convinced.

Crosland had always wanted the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer and had been promised a job switch with the present chancellor Denis Healey later in 1977. As chancellor, he would certainly have implemented a more expansionist policy.

His sudden death presented Callaghan with a dilemma. Healey had looked forward to the switch since he always wanted to be Foreign Secretary, but it was impossible to find a replacement as Chancellor who combined loyalty to orthodox policies with Healey's seniority and forceful-

ness. It was necessary, therefore, to keep Healey at the Treasury, especially since the budget is due March 29 and major decisions have to be made.

Callaghan promoted Dr. David Owen, Crosland's number two, to Foreign Secretary. Owen, aged 38 and only ten years in the House of Commons, will be a popular appointment: he is handsome, an excellent speaker with considerable intellectual ability and has no major enemies. But Owen is in fact a right-winger in Labor Party terms. He strongly favored entry into the Common Market when a majority of the party was against it. He has a conventional view of international policy. Therefore, in the eyes of the establishment at both the

treasury and the foreign office, we are left with safe men.

►Outlook bleak

The economic outlook is now extremely bleak, and Healey faces many charges that his policies have failed or at least are working too slowly. He had openly pledged that inflation would be down to an annual rate of 10 percent by the end of 1976. Instead, having touched 13 percent, it is now speeding again, and latest figures show a rate of 16.6 percent with the likelihood that it will get worse.

Unemployment is also rising, now nearing 7 percent of the workforce, with far worse levels in certain cities. The latest trade figures are appalling, showing the

failure of British industry to increase exports despite the fall in the value of the pound. The only bright spot is offshore oil production, which is developing faster than expected, but it is still a minor factor in the overall economic balance.

Despite Healey's almost desperate appeals, the unions are extremely reluctant to agree to another year of a wage freeze after the present agreement runs out in August. Under strong rank and file pressure, the leaders of several major unions are demanding a return to free collective bargaining.

The discontent is especially strong among skilled workers who have seen differentials eroded and are experiencing living standards no better than unskilled workers, which have been continually worsening thanks to inflation. This week a wildcat strike by skilled workers shut down Leyland Industries. Union leaders cannot endorse it but they probably sympathize.

Leyland is the only auto firm not owned by American capital, and it is virtually a nationalized industry following the massive injection of public funds to prevent impending bankruptcy. Thus the strike is a bonus to Tory propaganda.

Add to all this the probable loss of Crosland's seat when a by-election is held, and you would be bold to predict long life for the government.

Mervyn Jones has worked as assistant editor of the London Times and the New Statesman. He has recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry.

But government may not last

London. The Labor government is in jeopardy after a wholly unexpected defeat in the House of Commons on a motion to limit debate on a bill to grant limited autonomy to Scotland and Wales. The bill, which was the centerpiece of the government's 1977 legislative program, now has no chance of coming up for a vote at this session and may be abandoned.

The political consequence is that the nationalists, who have been keeping the government in office to secure the bill, have no further motive to do so. Indeed, Scots nationalists have every reason to press for an early election in which they can be confident they will

secure a majority of Scots seats. They could interpret this as a mandate for independence or at least more sweeping autonomy.

After the vote, Scots nationalist leader Donald Stewart said, "We shall seek to bring down the government at the most convenient moment." Welsh nationalist MP Dafydd Wigley echoed, "The government's defeat should lead to an immediate general election."

These two parties have 14 crucial seats in Commons. In a vote of confidence, it is now anybody's guess whether the government could win. Defeat would automatically mean a new election.

—Mervyn Jones

THE CITIES

Charter reform in Boston brings out all interest groups

By Sidney Blumenthal

On a mild spring day last year, black attorney Theodore Landsmark, had an appointment with Boston Mayor Kevin White to discuss a minority jobs program. As Landsmark walked across the City Hall Plaza a gang of anti-busing white youths carrying flags and banners spotted him. Landsmark was held as one of the youths battered his face with an American flag. A dramatic picture of the mayhem was transmitted worldwide. Mayor White himself watched the incident from his office window.

This was but the latest in a series of unsettling violent episodes—racial riots at high schools, a courthouse bombing, stabbings and assaults. The Landsmark incident, however, served as the catalyst for the most profound fight in this century for power and reform in Boston, a battle that is still proceeding.

The vehicle around which Mayor White sought to restructure the system of city government was enactment by the state legislature of a new Boston charter. In the process he aroused the ire of good government liberals, anti-busers, some blacks, and his traditional political rivals.

Within a week of the Landsmark affair about 25,000 Bostonians marched to City Hall Plaza, where the attack had occurred, to condemn violence. Whites participated in the demonstration, and taking the opening created by the public revulsion over the continuing disorder, named a panel called the Committee on Violence to offer proposals to ameliorate the problem.

►Change school committee elections.

The blue-ribbon group consisted of the State House Speaker Thomas McGee, a black judge, Senator Edward Brooke, the chairmen of the First National Bank of Boston and the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, the publisher of the *Boston Globe*, several clergymen, a token right-wing radio talk show host, a black professor, and the former state attorney general. In late June the committee issued its report which called for a change in the way the school committee had been elected.

The Boston School Committee, a bastion of patronage, is elected on a city-wide basis currently. As a result, no black has ever served on it. The Committee on Violence advocated "district representation," a reform with far-ranging implications. Certainly, if this was instituted, blacks in Boston, the smallest community of blacks in a major American city besides Minneapolis, would have an official voice in school matters.

When the Committee on Violence disbanded, its work was taken up by a new group called the Committee for Boston, composed of three leftovers, the president of the State Street Bank, Hale Champion, financial vice president of Harvard University (now a Carter administration appointee), a handful of community leaders, a Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court clerk, and a monsignor. This committee of local notables informed Mayor White that his leadership in the busing crisis had been dilatory and ineffective. They said that if he did not support their recommendations they would take their case to the public.

►Bankers push central control.

The Committee for Boston recommended that the city be divided into 15 new districts from which the city council and school committee would be elected. Another key proposal was that the mayor

White's national opportunities were blocked, leading him to opt for long-term aggrandizement of his power. He gathered operatives and began the task of building Boston's first city-wide machine. Charter reforms became one of his prime instruments.

would retain control of the school system's budget. This notion was pushed hard by the bankers on the committee, who generally support measures for centralized fiscal control of the city.

Boston has one of the highest rates of expenditure per pupil in the nation, and the banks seek budget trimming as a way of making Boston's municipal bonds more attractive investments. Also, by linking their concern to the black aspiration for representation, the banks present a liberal image of themselves. On the other hand, they threaten influential bastions of power by suggesting that the school committee be elected according to district.

Mayor White was not initially enthusiastic about the Committee for Boston's program. Among other objections, he didn't like the idea of even-year elections, which would shorten his term by a year. But after conferring with Harvard government professors Doris Kearns (author of *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* and wife of former JFK and LBJ aide Richard Goodwin) and James Q. Wilson (author of the neo-conservative book, *Thinking About Crime*), White came up with a version of the program he could live with, by grafting on a provision which would significantly enhance his political power.

►Proposal for partisan elections.

Along with even-year elections, White proposed that the balloting be partisan. On the face of it this idea seems innocuous. Boston, however, has never had partisan elections, always leaving the field open.

In a city with only 17,000 registered Republicans such a measure would render the Democratic primary the only meaningful contest. Instead of having final elections, as has been the case, with two Democrats of differing political perspectives in the race, essentially only one man would appear for voters' consideration.

Kevin White, despite his national image as a liberal, has long admired the late Richard Daley of Chicago. When Mike Royko's book on Daley, *Boss*, was published, White avidly read it and pressed it on his friends. Boston has never had a comprehensive political machine. Instead of politicians being groomed by a machine, pols in Boston must develop their own political apparatus. Boston's most popular flamboyant mayor, James Michael Curley, an engaging rogue with populist appeal, failed to build the kind of serious structure he might have in the 1930s and 1940s. Thus, Boston's power is divided into duchies and dukedoms, more a federation of princes and princesses than a kingdom.

Until last year Kevin White hadn't begun the serious enterprise of molding a machine. His ambitions were more na-



Defeated in the Massachusetts House, White is proposing to take his Charter reform package to the people in a referendum this spring. Photo by UPI

tional in scope. He basked in the limelight of U.S. National Council of Mayors conferences, walked down ghetto streets in shirt-sleeves in the aftermath of riots, accompanied by television camera crews, freed the Rolling Stones from a Rhode Island drug bust so they could appear on-time at a Boston concert, and entertained stellar Harvard and MIT professors at the elegantly refurbished 19th century Parkman House, a gracious retreat created by the city at his request.

►National ambitions blocked.

White almost was George McGovern's vice presidential choice, but he was nixed by John Kenneth Galbraith and Sen. Edward Kennedy, who didn't want another Massachusetts figure to have a national following and reputation. White was bitter about this, but hoped for the best for himself in 1976. Unfortunately, he chose to support Henry Jackson's bid while state Sen. Joseph Timilty, White's last mayoral rival, backed Jimmy Carter and ran his Pennsylvania campaign.

White's national opportunities were blocked, leading him to opt for long-term local aggrandizement of his power. He gathered operatives and began the task of building Boston's first city-wide machine. Charter reforms became one of his prime instruments toward this end.

At public hearings on the matter, White's nascent organization packed the galleries, arranged the order of speakers and attempted to keep opponents from reaching any sizeable audiences. Neighborhood groups were told that if they backed the mayor's plan they could expect to receive unnamed future favors. Heavy pressure was exerted on community leaders who had not resolved their position on the proposal. Ironically, Theodore Landsmark was among those subject to White's tactics, and he decried them publicly.

Black leaders were split on the question. Those who were integrated into White's ward organization naturally supported it. Other blacks believed that any reform giving them representation was worth backing.

Blacks who had worked for Jimmy Carter, recruited through Timilty's efforts, opposed the plan. So did black leaders who claimed that being granted the right to access to the school committee was meaningless if the school committee no longer controlled its own budget. Thomas I. Atkins, the local NAACP president, took this stance.

►Liberals opposed method.

Good government liberals were shocked by White's stratagems. The Boston chapter of the Americans for Democratic Ac-

tion, for example, came to a hearing to speak in critical support of charter reform. The White operatives who ran the meeting thought ADA had come to speak solidly in favor, but when they learned of its qualifications the group's spokesman was pushed farther and farther to the back of the speaking list. When the ADA speaker finally had the chance to address the hearing he was so angered that he came out in total opposition to charter reform.

A key sticking point for the liberals was that Bostonians would never have a chance to vote on the measure—its passage depended only on the state legislature. Anti-busers also railed against this undemocratic method, but their objections were based more on the potential threats to their own petty influence. Simply, more representation for blacks meant less for them.

►Reform still wanted.

Despite the disparate coalition assembled against charter reform there was overwhelming sentiment in the city, expressed by numerous speakers at public hearings, in favor of some kind of reform. Many of those who opposed White's form of charter reform (perhaps most) were strongly in support of district elections. White struck to his proposal, however, without relenting.

In the end, the charter reform plan depended for passage in the state legislature on Boston's representatives. The state Senate and House leadership assured Mayor White that they would use their power to pass the measure so long as a majority of Boston's reps were in favor. When the balance tilted to a 14 to 14 split the State House leadership moved to kill the bill. On a voice vote in the house on Feb. 16, charter reform went down to defeat.

►A referendum in the spring?

Like a phoenix, Kevin White rose again after his failure to argue that charter reform would still be approved. He suggested a referendum sometime in the spring. This would satisfy much of the opposition, whose qualms about the plan were based on the undemocratic nature of the process pursued to enact it. A referendum would also give White a chance to flex the muscle of his machine, which was set back but not deterred. The vote, if it takes place, should occur around the first anniversary of the assault on Theodore Landsmark.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for the *Boston Phoenix* and is editor of *Government by Gunplay* (New American Library).

Sam Brown shakes up the banks

"Banks are interesting. . . I would be in favor of formation of public banks. Not so much a central bank because then what you get is someone off in Washington making decisions about what is good for us, and I don't think they've done a terrifically good job of that over a period of time."

By Timothy Lange

When Colorado Republicans heard that San W. Brown Jr. was going to try to unseat the incumbent state treasurer in 1974, they could scarcely contain their glee. Here was a 31-year-old upstart with heavily anti-establishment credentials, someone who had only been in Colorado four years, challenging Palmer Burch, 67, who was completing his first term as treasurer after a 20-year hitch in the state legislature.

"Can you imagine," asked then-Gov. John Vanderhoof at a kickoff dinner for Burch, "an individual with no more training than leading riots and radical parades and Gene McCarthy campaigns... who wants to become treasurer of Colorado?" The red-baiting campaign, in which Brown was falsely linked to SDS, backfired. Brown was elected in the stunning Democratic sweep of state offices that year and has gone on to make dramatic changes in the operation of the treasurer's office.

Like other ambitious politicians, Brown promised to serve the entire four years, but he is now off in the middle of his term to take over a \$42,000-a-year job as head of ACTION, which encompasses the Peace Corps, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), the Retired Seniors Volunteer Program and various other programs.

An outstanding ROTC cadet in high school, Brown supported the right of radicals to speak at the University of Redlands from which he graduated in 1965, blew the whistle on CIA funding of the National Student Association when he was that group's vice president in 1967, dropped out of the Harvard Divinity School to coordinate the grassroots McCarthy campaign in 1968, was an initiator of the 1969-70 Vietnam Moratorium, and worked for Iowa's Harold Hughes and New York's Richard Ottinger. He arrived in Colorado in 1970 with a \$7,500 advance from Random House to write a book of political coalition building.

►Even his friends wondered.

After the book didn't happen (the advance is still being paid back), he continued his antiwar efforts and filled in as a vice president for his father's store-chain, Brown's Shoe & Co. In 1972, he joined the successful campaign to keep Colorado tax money from subsidizing the 1976 Olympics.

Even some of his friends wondered what was going on when Brown decided to run for the treasurer's job, a post they saw as little more than a dusty sinecure for farmed-out politicians or ambitious bookkeepers. Brown, however, saw the job as being more than custodian of the

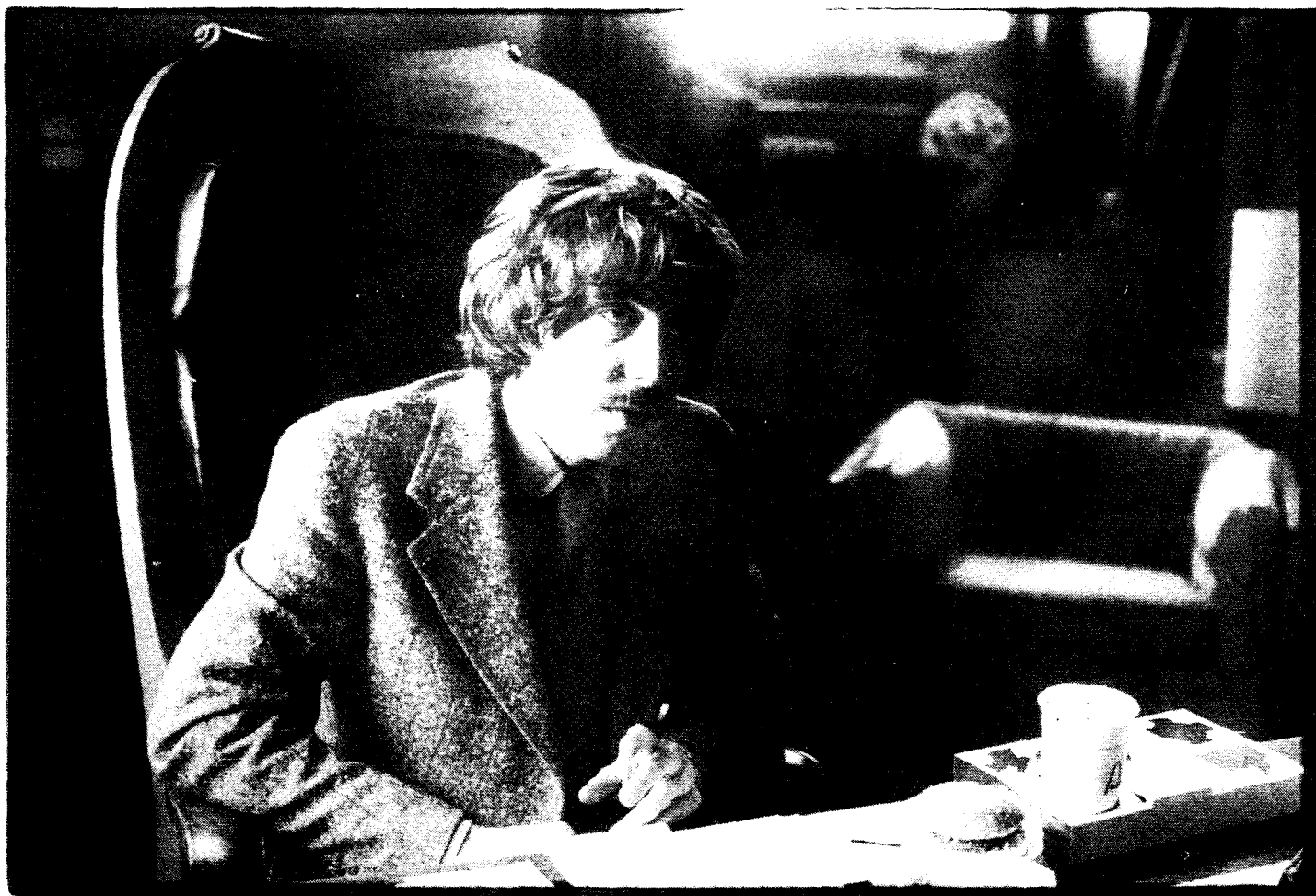


Photo by Eric S. Wiener

Economics on a human scale

Between waiting in court to present a routine matter, fighting with Colorado Senate Republicans over his socially motivated Treasury policies and running back and forth from Denver to Washington to discuss his appointment as the head of ACTION, Sam Brown stopped by his office for a Big Mac and a 30-minute interview with IN THESE TIMES.

Q: You've supported Fred Harris twice now. What is it about his politics that appeals to you?

A: Well, he talks about a fundamental question that we've got to deal with in our society, which is the maldistribution of wealth. He's the only person who talks

about it very directly. I think many questions society faces are economic ones, and they are going to require some fundamental changes.

How do you go about making those changes?

The main thing that has to be done—that I thought his campaign offered an opportunity to do—was to build a majority, to build a coalition which really could govern the country. And to build it across racial and sexual and all sorts of other lines because the unifying elements were elements of economics.

Now, what you have to do in terms of specific programmatic content when you get elected, I think, is two or three things.

state's cash-flow and pal to the big commercial banks.

Before Brown took over as treasurer, there were no written guidelines for depositing state money. The treasurer could, within certain limits, deposit funds in whichever banks he chose and, as in the case of Burch, those banks were often the ones whose directors had contributed money to the treasurer's campaign chest. It was what one small banker called the "buddy system," and it meant that the big banks got to handle most of the state's cash.

Using a program similar to one developed by Illinois' Adlai Stevenson III, Brown now deposits all state funds with the highest bidder. Deposits of less than 360 days go to banks that bid the highest interest rate, but for longer term deposits, the bidding process has a kicker. Banks get extra credit for having made large numbers of student, small business, agricultural, inner city and older housing loans. Consideration is now being given to including bidding credit for loans to minorities and women. Thus, a small bank unable to offer as high an interest rate as a big bank can still win the bid for state deposits based on what the treasurer calls "social criteria" and what some bankers deride as "brownie points."

►"Greenlining" shifts the money.

The precise results of this "greenlining" policy will not be clear until a study is completed near the end of June, but generally state money has been shifted from the suburban and big city banks that ben-

efitted under the old discretionary policy to rural and small inner city banks.

This shift has not made the Republicans on the state's Senate Finance Committee very happy, and they are anxious to get rid of the social criteria in the bidding process. At a committee meeting a few weeks ago, state Sen. Ralph Cole accused Brown of "appropriating state money to further your social prejudices. You're making a plaything out of state dollars." Brown angrily replied, "I frankly resent that last comment. If rumor is true, the office was used in the past not only as a plaything but as a highly politicized plaything."

The committee's Republican opposition to greenlining is more than philosophical. Three of the five are directors of suburban banks hurt by the policy, and a supposedly impartial expert who gave error-filled testimony that Brown's policy was costing the state tens of thousands in lost interest revenue, was found to be on the payroll of the Colorado Savings League, a greenlining opponent.

Brown denies that greenlining has cost the state money, claiming his other policies have more than made up for any losses and that eventually higher state revenues will be produced in those economically depressed areas now aided by greenlining.

Big bankers are fairly solid in opposition to Brown, but while the state's Independent Banking Association (IBA) of small banks has no official position on greenlining, IBA president Jim Thomas believes Brown is doing things "exactly as they ought to be done."

One is to begin to get things to some scale that makes some sense—to reduce the size and complexity of economic institutions. That means that you're going to have to do everything from rigid enforcement of expanded anti-trust operations, including both vertical and horizontal divestiture of the oil companies, and reduction in size of some of the multinationals—but you've got to do it in such a way that ensures they can't simply export this country's capital to other places with no repatriation of the profits.

On an individual basis, it means you've got to deal realistically with both a guaranteed income, and at the other end of the scale, to have a tax impact on upper

Continued on page 20.

Brown also hasn't pleased most bankers with a recently published booklet on banking. It is no revolutionary document, but a grant-funded comparative shopping guide. Bankers complain the guide will be inaccurate because of fluctuating interest rates and that publishing it wasn't in the treasurer's job description. Pointing out that his responsibility is to the people and "not the banks," Brown says, "I think in the best of all possible worlds it's up to industry to provide that kind of information." But the "best of all possible worlds doesn't exist."

In the fall presidential campaign, Brown made enemies out of some former supporters when he initiated an anti-McCarthy advertisement signed by local supporters of McCarthy's 1968 campaign. Brown said the independent contender was a spoiler who would take votes away from Carter without offering a viable or coherent alternative.

But within all wings of the relatively center-road Colorado Democratic party, the 33-year-old treasurer is widely respected and admired, not least because he has used his post to travel about the state explaining his policies, maintaining close local party contacts and apparently building a political base for what may now be an abandoned future campaign.

One Denver journalist who has closely watched Brown told IN THESE TIMES, "He's milked the job for all...more than it's worth. Nobody expected he would get so much mileage out of it."

Timothy Lange is a free-lance writer living in Boulder, Colo.



Deborah Meier, National Board member, addresses convention.

Photo by Jane Melnick



Photo by Timothy J. Naylor

Making socialism 'mainstream' — DSOC builds on its strengths

By John Judis

After World War I, the American socialist movement contracted a severe illness from which some historians and politicians expected it would never recover. But recently there have been signs of revival. Some have come out of the remnants of the new left of the 1960s. Others have come surprisingly from long dismissed segments of America's old left.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) was formed in 1973 after the Socialist Party splintered into three irreconcilable parts: a group of cold-war Meanyites led by Albert Shanker who went on to form Social Democrats, USA; a group of Norman Thomas socialists who thought socialism had to be built outside the Democratic Party and who retained the name of the Socialist Party; and the 200 people who came to form DSOC. DSOC's founders were determined to avoid both the coldwar anti-communism of the right and the self-imposed isolation of the party's left. They focused on building a socialist movement from within the Democratic Party.

In three years, during a period when most other socialist organizations were stagnating or shrinking, DSOC has grown from 200 to 2,000 through widespread educational work and agitation within the Democratic Party. It has attracted significant support from the left wing of the labor movement and of the Democratic Party.

By signing up such notables as Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, Gloria Steinem of Ms., Vic Gotbaum and Lillian Roberts of AFSCME, Victor Reuther of the UAW, Joyce Miller of CLUW, New York State assemblyman Seymour Posner, Ed Donahue, the president of the Graphics Arts International Union, and Harvey Cox of Harvard, it has been able to provide socialism with a needed legitimacy in the eyes of many people who have been afraid to identify themselves publicly as socialists.

It has also had one spectacular organizing success. At the 1976 Democratic convention, DSOC organized "Democracy '76," which united prominent Democrats and labor leaders around a program that stressed full employment and democratically planned investment.

►Still a collection of individuals.

DSOC has also remained largely a collection of individuals led by Michael Harrington, its founder and chairperson. While it has been able to organize nationally within the Democratic Party out of DSOC's New York office, it has not been able to create many local organizations or a socialist presence outside of New York and a few other cities.

Its membership has also remained largely white and, for the most part, limited to the leaders rather than the rank and file of reform movements. While some would argue this is an effect of the time and not a fault of DSOC, others have been less charitable. "We haven't even organized top down, but top sideways," New York member Jim Chapin quipped.

For many people who became socialists during the 1960s, DSOC also remains tainted with the heritage of the right wing of the Socialist Party—in fact, several prominent leaders wielded the anti-Communist axe themselves during the 1950s and '60s. Believing DSOC not seriously committed to socialism, but to destroying communism they continue to keep the organization at arm's length.

Last week at a Holiday Inn in Chicago, DSOC held its biennial convention. While some of the delegates came there primarily to see old friends and exchange experiences, others came with the express purpose of trying to shore up some of DSOC's weaknesses while building on its strengths.

►Full employment the key issue.

DSOC wants to build a socialist wing within the mass reform movement inside the Democratic Party. "Our analysis," Michael Harrington told IN THESE TIMES, "is that the political working class, the political women and minorities are within the Democratic Party. We want to become the socialist wing."

In his keynote address to the convention, Harrington depicted that mass reform movement as currently in crisis. Under the impact of a shrinking American capitalism, "it is quite possible that we will see the effective dissolution of the liberal ideology formulated by the New Deal and defining the point of view of the mass left ever since."

Liberals, Harrington argued, will be forced either to the right or to the left—either toward the "crackpot realism" of Charles Schultze or Hugh Carey who accept five percent unemployment and budget cuts as normal, given the working of the system, or toward a socialist politics that sees democratic structural reform as essential to solving America's basic problems.

The critical issue, Harrington believes, is full employment. Both corporate leaders and the rightwing liberals now understand that the labor market is divided in such a way that a five percent unemployment rate leaves minimal unemployment among adult white males. Anything less threatens to put these workers in an undesirably strong bargaining position. Corporations are left with a choice between raising prices to offset wage gains and accepting a redistribution of wealth. Full employment might give the working class as a whole enough leverage to force significant redistribution of wealth.

Politically, Harrington believes, full employment would not only give the working class power, but would provide a precondition for unity within the working class and with other national working classes.

Harrington sees full employment as an issue that could play the same explosive role in the next five years that civil rights and peace played in the Kennedy and Johnson years.

►Overcoming local weakness.

He proposed and the delegates accepted a plan to stage a full-employment confer-

ence in Washington D.C. this fall that would bring together labor, community, and Democratic Party activists from around the country. Harrington wants to model the conference on the Socialist Party's Continental Congress of 1933, using it as a way for local chapters to get in touch with the labor movement and Democratic Party in their cities. He hopes that out of it might come a permanent full employment coalition.

But Harrington himself admitted that the Washington conference was not enough to overcome DSOC's local weaknesses. Other DSOC members were more emphatic. "If we limit ourselves to Washington-based conferences, we're going to go nowhere," Elizabeth McPike, an Illinois delegate and National Board member said.

DSOC members see their Los Angeles local as a model of what they would like to do across the country. In Los Angeles, DSOC as a group helped to organize CAUSE, the Committee Against Utility Service Exploitation, which successfully blocked a utility rate increase and an attempt by the telephone company to charge for information calls. Burt Wilson, DSOC member, leader of CAUSE, and a recognized socialist, is now going to run for state assembly and is given a chance of winning against a field that includes former state assembly leader Jess Unruh.

At the convention, the delegates passed resolutions mandating the leadership to encourage the development of local chapters that would participate in community organizing and, where possible, run their own candidates for office as explicit socialists. But while the resolutions encountered no opposition, some DSOC members were skeptical about whether the Los Angeles model could be readily adopted in other parts of the country.

Nancy Shier, an experienced Democratic Party activist, said in the workshop on electoral campaigns that she didn't think "it was possible at many places at this time" for DSOC to run candidates. Candidates who run, she and others argued, have to have an independent base of their own in order for them to be serious candidates, and DSOC has few people like this outside of Los Angeles and New York City.

►Passing resolutions not enough.

Deborah Meier, a National Board member from New York and a founder of DSOC, was skeptical as well about DSOC's local community organizing thrust. She stressed that passing resolutions would "not be enough," unless new people came into DSOC with community organizing backgrounds. "Most of our leadership does not have community organizing backgrounds. Even if you pass a resolution, I don't think that Mike [Harrington] can articulate it."

Meier and other National Board members look to what they describe as "the best survivors of the '60s" to bring this orientation to DSOC. So far, DSOC has

managed to recruit only a few of these. Harry Boyte from the New American Movement played an important role in the convention and is now on the National Board. But other survivors retain a hands-off attitude, wary of DSOC's views on communism and socialism.

There is still a significant minority within DSOC that in Deborah Meier's words "thinks anything is preferable to communism." Meier added: "They don't expect to win us over, but they expect to hold us back a little and they do."

There is also a minority that identifies socialism with an advanced welfare society or regulated capitalism, although these views seem to have little place within the leadership.

At the convention, Harrington and other speakers, partly with an eye to the skeptics among the over 100 observers, went out of their way to make clear DSOC's differences with coldwar anti-communism and welfare socialism. In his opening talk, Irving Howe distinguished socialism from capitalism and all forms of state-managed socialism. The basic idea of socialism, Howe insisted, is "the idea that ordinary people rule."

Howe rejected nationalization as a way of seeing the path to socialism in the U.S. and called instead for a decentralized, democratized economy in which local industry is run by boards of elected workers and consumers.

►Some change in foreign outlook.

At the plenary on foreign policy, the first DSOC has ever had, it became clear that DSOC leaders regard the Western European Communist parties in a more favorable light. Bogdan Denitch, the chair of DSOC's International Affairs Committee, described the Italian Communist Party as "a mass workers party" and as "profoundly democratic," and endorsed its strategy of seeking an "historic compromise."

In describing the future of socialism in Europe, speakers also sounded an optimistic note. They described the task of Europe as one of going from "social democracy to socialism," which indicated again to wary listeners how DSOC understands the European welfare state.

But while DSOC has changed its views of Western European Communist parties, it has not softened its stand toward communist countries. Its literature tends to be unrelenting in its criticism of the Soviet Union, and one leaflet even puts the USSR in the same boat as post-coup Chile.

►Feeling each other out.

While Harrington told IN THESE TIMES that DSOC demanded no "theoretical obedience" on questions of communism and democracy, but only support for the rights of dissenters, Meier was less assuring when asked about different views of the Soviet Union. "Anyone who joins will have to live with Mike's own view of the Soviet Union. (See interview, page 7.) He is going to remain our spokesperson."

For Meier, the convergence between DSOC and much of the new left is proceeding, but slowly, as "both sides continue to feel each other out." For her that is the way it should be.

One new leftist who had come to the convention to look DSOC over, expressed some understanding for DSOC's lingering anti-communism. "It is true that there is still some anti-communism in DSOC," he told IN THESE TIMES, "but what can you expect given American history and the way the working class itself sees socialism. Any organization that had no anti-communists would have to be outside the debate that is going to have to go on inside the working class in order for socialism to become accepted."

"And the one thing that remains impressive about DSOC is that they are attempting to bring socialist ideas right into the mainstream of American politics. I don't know many other organizations that are."

Democratic socialism not social democracy

DSOC leaders speak of their problems and prospects.



Michael Harrington is the founder and chairperson of DSOC.

One of the things that blocked unity between the old Socialist Party and the new was the issue of anti-communism. Have your views and DSOC's on this subject changed over the years?

In terms of my basic analysis of communist societies, they haven't changed. My theory is that these are collectivist societies with bureaucratic ruling classes, and recent events in China and the Soviet Union have confirmed me in that judgment.

But some aspects of that analysis have changed. Cuba is a dictatorial society, and Castro is not my hero, but now I would say that it has accomplished things with regard to medicine and education. I don't want to say it is simply a negative picture any more than I want to say that Mao as compared to Chiang Kai-shek is a retrograde.

On European communism, my own feeling — I am not sure how many of our members would agree with this, but I suspect a good majority — I am certainly for the "historic compromise." I think the development of the Italian party is very hopeful.

In France, we have particularly warm relations with the French Socialist Party, and I am extremely enthusiastic about the union on the left. [Eds. note: union between the French Communists and the Socialists, see IN THESE TIMES, Vol. 1, Nos. 10-13] that is easier because the Socialist Party is getting more advantages out of the coalition than the Communists.

But finally in terms of DSOC and communism. One of the things that we have very carefully done from the beginning is to say that you don't have to accept bureaucratic collectivism or state capitalism. You can call the Soviet Union anything you want. I think it is ill advised, but if you want to say it is a bad form of socialism or it's a totalitarian form of socialism, choose your theory. We don't want to demand in DSOC any sort of theoretical obedience.

Our minimum is that when democratic rights are violated by Communist govern-

ments—when tanks move into Czechoslovakia, even when a religious reactionary like Solzhenitzyn is wrongly abused by the Soviet government—whatever your theory is, we in DSOC will say we are for the Czechs and against the tanks. And we are for Solzhenitzyn's rights.

What I am saying is that I don't see the issue of Communism as a big stumbling block anymore. I feel it is not central anymore. I find on the left practically nobody outside of the Communist Party of the U.S. who is starry-eyed about the Soviet Union anymore. I think the romance is gone.

But what about social-democracy? Social democracy has a tattered past of its own, beginning with World War I, and some social-democratic parties today, like the West German one, do not seem committed to socialism. Does DSOC identify itself as a social-democratic organization?

In Europe in recent times a verbal distinction has come to be used between social-democrat and democratic socialist. Generally, the more conservative, laborite wing of those parties call themselves social-democratic—Helmut Schmidt does not enjoy using the word "socialist" and for good reason. [Helmut Schmidt is the West German Premier and a German social-democrat.]

Our attitude in the Socialist International is that we see ourselves as part of its left wing, and our particular allies in our campaign to get membership in the International were the Swedes, the Dutch and the French. We see ourselves as part of that leftwing current, and certainly one of the reasons that the Scandinavians were anxious to have us is that they see us as part of that leftwing.

We came in as left socialists not only on the issues of peace, disarmament and the coldwar, but also on the issue of the welfare state. In America, liberalism plays the same role as social democracy does in Europe, and the minute you call yourself a socialist, you distinguish yourself from the center and right tendency in European social-democracy, which I think has come to equate socialism with the welfare state. I certainly don't.



Elizabeth McPike is co-ordinator of Illinois AFSCME, a founding member of DSOC, and a member of its national board.

Where do you think DSOC is weak?

One of our failures has been not to be in close enough contact with the network of community-based organizations. I think if we limit ourselves to Washington-based conferences, we are going to be nowhere.

Unless you have issues, where there can be some local participation, some self-confidence, and some victories—some experience that makes people more willing to take risks—without those experiences, it is too scary to talk about a host of

various issues, and to get involved in them.

Most labor people in DSOC seem to be staff members or officials. There don't seem to be many rank-and-filers. Is this a problem?

At this point, we probably have just from Illinois a dozen rank and filers coming to the convention. But again, I don't think that there is the self-confidence in the secondary leadership of the labor movement that allows them to be willing to take risks—to make the connections in their daily lives to the issue of structural change and to relate to an organization that is concerned with that.

You can't organize the secondary leadership right now into DSOC.



William Lynch is the Executive Director of the National Conference on Public Service Employment in New York City. He joined DSOC in 1975 and is now a member of the National Board.

What are the prospects of unity between the black and white movements?

I think we are running at parallels now. Black folks voted for Jimmy Carter not because they thought the South needed an opportunity to have a president, but they thought that they heard a platform that related to them—full employment, human rights, and consumer rights. Those are the kind of things that DSOC is articulating too.

I think blacks have to be involved in the beginning of a movement—not only be-

cause we are recognized for our voting power, but we have to be involved in the policy formulation and direction of the things that affect us.

Both the mainstream of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are so ingrained with their racism that they will not allow us to do that. I think DSOC is an opportunity for black folks to make our concerns known. Our salvation is a strong socialist movement in this country.

Are there signs of unity within DSOC?

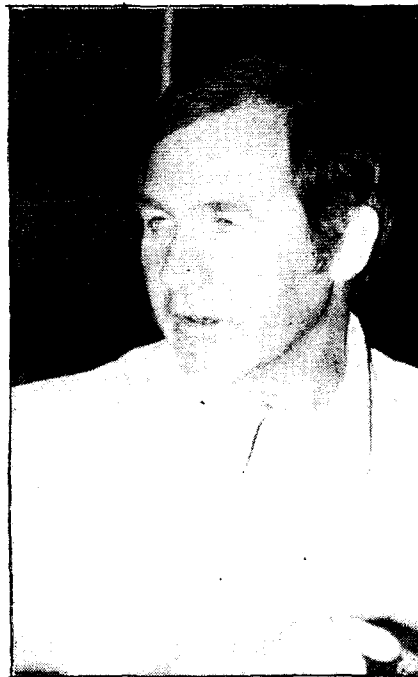
There are signs. There are active leadership people who are becoming members of DSOC, but only in a token way. I don't think that is enough. It is not enough to endorse the positions of DSOC, but not be ready to move to the forefront.

Burt Wilson works at a Los Angeles ad agency and is running for the California state assembly as a socialist and member of DSOC. He also organized CAUSE, a utilities action group.

When did you join DSOC and why?

I joined DSOC in 1976. I had been moving this way for a long time. It was my participation in the CAUSE battle where we beat ARCO and the Southern California Gas Company that made me finally come to realize that we could be fighting brushfires all our lives, and the change would just be cosmetic. The change has to be systemic.

And I started looking around for what was government for the people, of the people and by the people. Well, it is democratic, and it is socialist. It was at that point that I decided I ought to be honest about things.



Photos by Jane Melnick

Washington Report



Assassination panel in trouble

When the House Select Committee on Assassinations was created last September to investigate the deaths of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., the halls of Congress resounded with self-righteousness. "I have only one interest," said future chairperson Henry B. Gonzalez, "the truth about why and how these assassinations occurred."

Since then, other less noble interests have dominated the committee which is now so deeply mired in a feud between Gonzalez and committee counsel Richard A. Sprague, that it may not survive at all.

Sprague, the Philadelphia prosecutor who nailed Tony Boyle for the Yablonski murder, accepted the post as counsel for the committee only on condition that he be given nearly total control over the com-

It's an internal committee problem risen to the level of public spectacle. Sprague was given Carte blanche and Gonzalez wants the normal rights of a committee chairman.

mittee. Sprague's conditions, which he maintained were necessary for a "thoroughly impartial" and "professional" investigation, were apparently accepted by both former chairperson Thomas Downing (D-Va.) and present Chairperson Gonzalez, but conflicts between Gonzalez and Sprague began to leak out to the press before Gonzalez took over the committee.

Trouble began last November over a request from the committee for phone recording devices, lie detectors, and small microphones which could be concealed in investigators' clothing. The requests created a scandal in Congress. Gonzalez publicly considered withdrawing the resolution for continuing the committee this year.

In January, a budget dispute broke out. Sprague had requested \$6.5 million and Gonzalez, perhaps as a result of pressure from other House members, asked for smaller, gradual appropriations for the committee, though continuing his public

support for Sprague and calling him "a highly experienced professional."

By the middle of February, the committee's internal disputes had hit the front pages. Gonzalez accused Sprague of "divisive, deceitful conduct" and fired him. Rep. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) gathered support from the other members of the committee and rescinded the order. The situation floundered during congressional vacations this month and is now awaiting Gonzalez's return from Texas, where he is holed up with the flu.

The future of the committee is shaky. Its success depends largely on an image of honest, disinterested investigation. In trying to explain the situation to *IN THESE TIMES*, Bill Briggs of Fauntroy's office confessed, "No one understands it all. It's an internal committee problem risen to the level of public spectacle. Sprague was given carte blanche and Gonzalez wants the normal rights of a committee chairman."

"It's a sad statement on the committee," Briggs continued. "If there is a reasonable compromise, the committee could still move ahead. If not, it will self-destruct." So far the committee has fallen embarrassingly short of one of its primary goals, expressed by Downing in setting up the committee, "to help restore...the credibility of...government."

—Sarah James

CIA payoffs

Just hours before Secretary of State Cyrus Vance landed in Amman for talks with Jordan's King Hussein, Washington papers published an unconfirmed report that Hussein has been receiving millions of dollars in cash from the CIA since 1957.

The timing of the report, which was based on the leak of a memo to the White House from the Intelligence Oversight Board, prompted speculation that the revelation was meant to damage the Vance mission to the Middle East. One knowledgeable observer called it a possible "sabotage." Although there were a "myriad of other possibilities," he cautioned, the leak could hardly have been a coincidence.

The Jordanian government agreed, saying "a deliberate attempt is being made to

damage the image of the Jordanian leadership on the eve of the visit [by Vance]."

The White House refused to confirm or deny the allegations. The State Department also had no comment, except to call the King a "trusted friend and ally."

The reported cash payments allegedly totaled three-quarters of a million dollars last year alone. That figure reportedly represented only a fraction of previous payments which were said to run into millions of dollars annually.

The intent of the huge gifts from the CIA to Hussein, according to the article by Bob Woodward, was to allow U.S. intelligence free rein in the area for its operations and to prop up the King's shaky grip on the country.

Hussein has been a super-loyal U.S. ally for many years, even refusing to join the 1973 Middle East war on the Arab side. Joe Stork of the Middle East Research and Information Project pointed out to *IN THESE TIMES* that secret payoffs are simply an extension of the massive above-ground and quite legal U.S. economic and military aid that has poured into Jordan throughout Hussein's reign.

The three-member Intelligence Oversight Board was appointed by former President Ford last year to monitor questionable intelligence practices in the wake of the CIA scandals. The Board reportedly told Ford of the Hussein money, but he did not order the payments ended, according to the reports.

The Carter staff is going over a number of current practices by the intelligence agencies, a process which may itself have been the source of the leak. The *Wall Street Journal* reported Feb. 22 that several other heads of state received direct CIA money, including Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus, former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

In his Feb. 23 press conference, Carter was asked if it was proper for the CIA to make secret payments for 20 years to Hussein, but Carter refused to comment "directly on any specific CIA activity." He did say, however, that in analyzing recent "controversial revelations" that he had "not found anything illegal or improper." He added that "it can be extremely damaging to our relationship with other nations, to the potential security of our country even in peacetime, for these kinds

of operations which are legitimate and proper to be revealed."

—Tim Frasca

CIA used swine virus in Cuba

Anti-Castro Cuban exiles transported a virus deadly to swine to Cuba in 1971 with "at least the tacit backing of the CIA," the Long Island newspaper *Newsday* reported recently.

Six weeks after its introduction the swine virus forced the slaughter of half a million pigs, completely halting the production of pork, a Cuban staple, for several months.

The outbreak of the disease—a highly contagious African virus deadly only to Swine—puzzled investigators because it was the first viral outbreak of this type in the Western hemisphere.

The disease — a highly contagious African virus deadly only to swine — puzzled investigators because it was the first viral outbreak of this type in the Western hemisphere.

A U.S. intelligence source recently revealed to *Newsday* that early in 1971 the virus was sealed in an unmarked container at Ft. Gulick, an Army base in the Panama Canal zone.

The source stated that he received instructions to deliver the container to members of an anti-Castro organization. Another member of the Cuban exile group recounted the virus' journey from that point, stating that he was on the trawler that took the virus from Panama to Cuba, where it was given to "other operatives" at Guantanamo Bay. The swine epidemic broke out in Havana, 500 miles north-east of Guantanamo.

The source on the trawler was trained by the CIA and carried out previous missions for the agency, according to the *Newsday* article. "We were well paid for this," he said. Although he had seen no CIA officials aboard the boat that delivered the virus to the trawler, he noted that "Cuban exile groups don't have that kind of money."

—Liberation News Service

Wildcat strikes spread in Southern Illinois mines

A series of wildcat strikes spread through the coal fields of Southern Illinois last week in protest of what miners say are violations of their 1974 contract.

The strike, which has idled about 7,000 miners, started on Feb. 14 when Consolidated Coal Company's No. 5 mine near DeSoto, Ill., posted new work rules on absenteeism. The company wants the power to dismiss workers if they're absent for three days without calling in, a provision not included in the contract.

"We have a company instituted absentee policy that to my notion and the men's notion is a direct violation of the 1974 Coal Agreement," Norman Silvey, Recording Secretary and Pit Committeeman of United Mine Workers (UMW) Local 2216, told *IN THESE TIMES*.

The company wants the conflict decided through arbitration, while the union says it should be negotiated in upcoming talks for a new contract.

"They've tried this in other states," continues Silvey, citing Pennsylvania and West Virginia. "Since I've been at this mine, we've had ongoing discussions with them and have had several other wildcats over this policy. We've talked with them, negotiated with them about it, but they just say that it's their right to unilaterally institute these policies."

In an interview with the *Chicago Tribune*, a company spokesman claimed that the dispute was basically an "internal un-

ion problem," because the current national leadership battle has left no one in charge of the union. Members of the UMW will select a new president in June. Arnold Miller, the reform candidate who defeated Tony Boyle in 1972, is being challenged by Harry Patrick, a former supporter, and by Lee Roy Patterson, an ally of the Boyle forces within the union.

"Absentee policy is set forth in considerable detail in the present contract, but it has become a volatile issue in the pre-election fight, with each of the three candidates seizing on it," the company official said.

"I know the coal companies have been saying that," counters Norman Silvey. "They've jumped on the trouble in our international union and have tried to make this dispute into a political thing. But there's no connection whatsoever."

As required by law, union officials have ordered the men back to work. Representatives of the international union are trying to resolve the dispute in meetings with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association in Pittsburgh.

Industry officials fear that the walkout is the opening shot in a volley of labor strife this year in the coal fields. Contracts covering about 125,000 miners expire in December. The union is expected to demand the right to strike over local grievances, an issue that prompted several massive wildcat walkouts in 1975-76.

—Dan Marschall



"Hello dear... how was your day? If I am not contravening official secrets and confidential regulations..."

IN THE WORLD

Is Carter for real on human rights?

By Jeffrey Stein

Washington D.C. Spring slipped into Washington for a sneak preview last week.

The erratic bursts of sunshine prompted slivers of green seedlings to push out from under the cold grounds of the federal buildings, especially around the State Department, an ordinarily ugly clump of buildings close by the Lincoln Memorial.

And in the first month of Jimmy Carter's "open government," a fresh breeze had seemed to clean out the stuffy air which always hangs so thick inside the State Department's well appointed offices as well.

Inspired by the new President's apparently spontaneous thrusts into human rights in Chile, South Africa, Uganda and, most loudly, the Soviet Union, either during the campaign or in the first few weeks of his administration, normally cautious desk officers suddenly began discussing openly the question of political prisoners, even in allied countries.

"Last year," exclaimed Amnesty International's Washington office director Richard Wright, "you couldn't get the words 'human rights' in the newspaper. Now it's the biggest deal in town."

"But I'm a little worried about it," Wright added. "It could explode in our faces."

►Doubts in State Department.

A few middle level State Department officials have already felt the heat because of an incident where they had misread the administration's general line on human rights.

Because of it they now wonder exactly what the government is up to. They suspect that—as in the early 1950s when the Eisenhower administration pursued a public policy of "liberating" Eastern Europe but fell silent when Polish, and then Hungarian, insurrectionists rose up expecting American intervention—the Carter team has been pushing hard on human rights only where it is convenient.

In his second press conference last Wednesday, Carter said that he had "never been inclined to single out the Soviet Union as the only place human rights are abridged." In response to a question regarding Iran and the Philippines, however, Carter addressed the subject in terms of a general commitment to human rights singling out the easy targets of Uganda and Cuba and giving passing reference to South Korea and "several countries in South America."

But it has been on the question of human rights in Chile on which candidate Carter made his first human rights pronouncements last fall that some of the younger State Department officials have tested the waters and found out that they flowed, in practice, only to communist countries, and particularly the Soviet Union.

►Torture-house head visits U.S.

In the incident, a Chilean official, alleged to have been the "dueno de la casa," or "master of a house" of torture, had come to the U.S. for a tour officially underwritten and paid for by the State Department.

On Jan. 18, Jaime Lavin Farina, now the Director General of the Chilean Foreign Ministry, was questioned sharply by students and faculty members at Columbia University about his role as a prison camp commandant following the September 1973 coup that smashed the government of Marxist Dr. Salvador Allende.

Lavin was again challenged when he spoke the following week in San Francisco, where demonstrators gathered outside his hotel as well.

Faced with growing protests from liberal groups armed with testimony from Lav-



in's former victims in Santiago, a few State Department officials quietly put the minister on a plane back to Chile, curtailing his tour by a week.

Inside the bureaucracy, according to several sources, the search began to find out how Lavin was invited in the first place.

►Jobs on the line.

Blame was laid at the feet of the American embassy in Santiago. It was said that the State Department officers there just didn't know about Lavin's background. It was, according to one State Department analyst, "an oversight."

An Amnesty International staffer put it another way: "They just don't think it's important enough to look into."

But by mid-February, some desk officers, stung by the criticism and encouraged by the protests of the Chilean embassy here, began to fight back. They called the expulsion of Lavin a "kangaroo court." They asked for more documents on Lavin from his alleged victims. And in the face of testimony from several exiled Chileans, they continued to question the allegations, and to buttress their positions.

But early last week, the Chilean embassy was considering holding a press conference to denounce Amnesty International and attack the group's credibility.

Inside the State Department, "jobs are on the line," according to one source.

"We are not sure which way the wind is blowing," said one desk officer, who, following standard procedure, demanded anonymity in exchange for talking about the chaotic situation.

"Where there's smoke," said one, "the prudent bureaucrat sees fire and therefore does not make a move."

►The Majd case.

Carter's public campaign for human rights has also failed so far to convince those who deal on a day-to-day basis with American policy toward Iran.

In a case which may turn out to be a landmark, the State Department is reviewing a request for political asylum from a young Iranian student here whose brother-in-law has apparently turned out to be a Savak (Iranian intelligence) agent and who was spying on him in Washington.

The case of Ezzadin Majd has had the backing of Sen. Edward Kennedy, Tom Jones (chairman of Amnesty International), and David Carliner, a prominent Washington attorney who specializes in

touchy immigration cases.

Political asylum is very rarely granted to exiles from governments allied to the United States—and has never been granted to an Iranian. Officers on the Mideast desks at State are wary now of making any decision at all until they know what the administration's human rights line will be.

They have watched the case of the Chilean foreign ministry official burn fingers, and they are sure the Shah of Iran would make a stink about the case of Ezzadin Majd.

"I'm going to sit on it," says one desk officer. "Maybe time will take care of it." Mr. Majd will be deported in a month if no action is taken.

►A sieve on South Korea.

Another signal could come in the case of South Korea, which President Carter opted to mention in passing during his discussion of human rights at the press conference.

Encouraged by the new President's "stand" on the broader question, plus the continuing pot-boiler around charges that perhaps 90 Congressmen took bribes from South Korea wheeler-dealer Tongsun Park, the State Department has been a sieve for information on the American allies in Seoul.

But here too the bureaucrats are waiting to see what will happen. Traditionally, representatives from the foggy Bottom have trekked up Capitol Hill to support their foreign aid programs. It is critics from outside who complain about aid to repressive regimes.

But this year, there are a number of officers who are upset that South Korea will receive a 36 percent boost in Food for Peace shipments following reports that its intelligence operatives have been slipping cash to Congressmen. (The Korean government sells the food on the open market and can use the cash to buy whatever it wants to.)

"We are happy of course to see that the President has recognized some of these problems," said one officer following the press conference. "We've known about the Koreans for some time and have wanted to make representations about it to the White House. But Ford was—to say the least—not receptive. And you know about Nixon."

"So—" the official smiled, tucking his pipe in his mouth, "we will wait to see. Carter's saying good things. But what does he really want to do? That's what matters to us."

Jeffrey Stein is an investigative reporter in Washington, D.C.

Students charge U.S. hinders inquiry into Iranian arrests

President Carter's policy of commitment to human rights is hypocritical, according to dissident Iranian students.

The Iranian Students Association says two observers from the U.S. have been in Iran trying to see 18 recently jailed dissidents for two weeks. The American embassy in Iran has asked the observers to leave and threatened to have them deported because their presence jeopardized U.S./Iran relations.

The two, attorney Nancy Hormachea and University of Kansas professor Norman Forer, told the ISA the Iranian government refused to help them contact the prisoners, or even to release the prisoners' names. "But, off the record, even the bureaucrats complained to them about the corruption and repression there," said an ISA spokesperson.

Delegations of American observers are being organized in several U.S. and European cities to join Forer and Hormachea. The Iranian government is expected to turn down their requests for visas for the purpose of investigating human rights in Iran. The two Americans presently in Iran entered on tourist visas.

Members of the ISA in seven cities went on hunger strikes for ten days beginning Feb. 15 to dramatize the situation of political prisoners in Iran.

The first day of the strike, a group

from ISA chained themselves to the Statue of Liberty and hung banners from her crown saying "Down with the Shah" and "Free the 18." The statue was closed for five hours.

The ISA charges that the U.S. actively supports the lack of liberty in Iran. "With 26,000 American advisors there, and the number expected to climb to 60,000, it may be the next Vietnam," said an ISA spokesman.

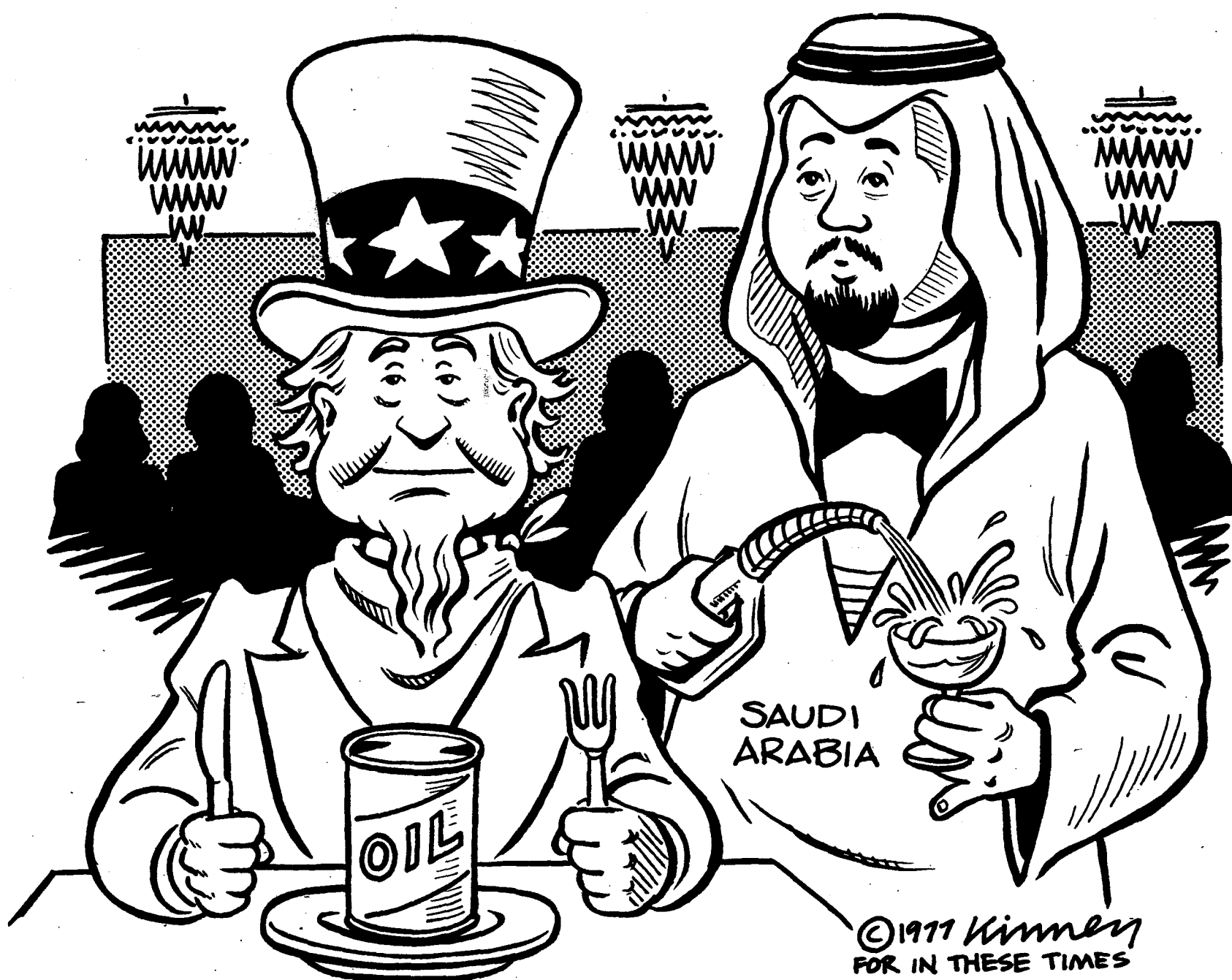
The day after the statue was occupied, ISA members took over the administration building of Queens College of CUNY, New York. They won their demand that the college make public a contract with the Iranian government that called for the college to set up a \$100,000 computer center, paid for by Iran.

"That center would set up a file on every Iranian student in the U.S., so the SAVAK (Iran's secret police) can spy on them," said an ISA spokesperson.

ISA members' lives have been threatened, and their families harassed by SAVAK, whose officers are CIA trained and who operate within the U.S.

ISA members say the arrest of 18 dissidents is a new development in Iranian government repression. "For the past three years, they have preferred to use the methods of torture and street assassination in dealing with dissidents," said an ISA spokesperson.

Judy MacLean



Saudi fear of left fuels OPEC split

By Joe Stork

Speculation that Saudi Arabia would soon compromise with other Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries members on a world oil price was cut short recently by Saudi oil minister Shiekh Ahmed Zaki Yamani. As a result, the open split over oil prices between Saudi Arabia and other OPEC nations, which surfaced at last December's OPEC meeting, will continue.

This latest split, however, is only the most recent expression of longstanding political differences among the member regimes. They reflect the different social and political bases of the regimes, their different material resources, and the nature of their alliances with each other and with the industrialized capitalist countries, including the giant oil companies.

The Saudi intransigence in December can now be clearly traced to American pressures and to the Saudi's desire to back an "American solution" in the Mideast.

►Even the theatrics not new.

At the conference, held in the tiny reactionary sheikhdom of Qatar in the middle of December, Saudi Arabia refused to go along with the solid majority of states in decreeing a 10 percent hike in crude oil prices and instead decreed a hike of 3 percent to 5 percent for its various crudes and promised to hike production to undersell the others. The 10 percent figure was itself a compromise: most of the states were after a 15 percent hike, with some arguing that a 25 percent hike was needed to restore OPEC purchasing power lost to inflation in the world economy.

The basic Saudi position, as enunciated by Oil Minister Yamani, was not at all new. Even the theatrics, including the grandstand walkout by Yamani, have been seen before. In September 1975, the occasion of the previous OPEC hike, Yamani left the negotiations for "consultations" with his government. Upon his return he refused to go along with the 10

percent hike authorized then, but subsequently the Saudis quietly implemented the hike.

Between that time and this December, Saudi Arabia has refused to countenance any price hikes whatsoever, most recently by Indonesia in May 1976, over the opposition of the rest of the states. The Qatar meeting represents a willingness by the rest of OPEC to challenge Saudi domination of the organization, rather than the other way around.

What was different this time was that as recently as the last week in November Yamani and United Arab Emirates Oil Minister Otaiba indicated that they would support an increase of no more than 10 percent. Only on the eve of the conference did Yamani announce a new position: a continued price freeze at least through the first half of 1977.

►U.S. orchestrates.

Yamani claims that in the intervening period the fragile nature of the Western economic recovery became more apparent, raising the specter of left-wing and Communist participation in several European governments. The American State Department aggressively advanced this line in (since leaked) cables to embassies and foreign governments.

The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the club of industrial capitalist countries, revised downward its forecast for 1977 economic growth from 5 percent to 3.5 percent. American Assistant Treasury Secretary Gerald Parsky was dispatched on a quick tour of the Middle East oil producing states to stress the seriousness of the situation. Half a dozen government and oil industry studies were released in quick succession, asserting that the oil producers had not suffered substantially from price inflation of industrial exports. In this way, the Saudi move was an integral part of an exercise orchestrated by the U.S.

Saudi paranoia of left-wing political ad-

vances in Europe, especially as nourished by the State Department, was surely a factor in this about-face, but there were others as well. The over-riding factor was the eagerness of Saudi Arabia to consolidate the alignment of right-wing regimes in the Arab world, especially regarding a settlement of the Palestine question.

Saudi Arabia has been the financier and prime backer of an "American solution" and felt the time was ripe for a gesture that would compel the new Carter administration to move quickly on this front. Given the close and constant communication between the Saudi and American governments, the move reflected an "identity" of views if not an outright *quid pro quo*.

►Not a Saudi victory.

A third explanation for the Saudi move was the desire of the regime to maintain its leverage within OPEC, especially on the question of pricing. This is why the split in December cannot yet be viewed as a Saudi victory. The other countries are not willing to help finance Saudi political speculations, and the non-Middle East members resented being dragged into inter-Arab politics.

Any clear indication of price trends will not be available before March at the earliest, when the severe winter weather will have effectively drawn down the tremendous inventories of oil that had been built up over the last months of 1976 in anticipation of a price hike. This factor, as well as the lower Saudi (and UAE) price, accounts for the sharp drop in sales of Saudi Arabia's Gulf competitors: Iran, Kuwait and Iraq.

Saudi Arabia has committed itself only to expand production to 10 million barrels a day by the end of March and then reassess the situation. Most of its excess capacity is in the heavy and medium grade crudes that are in plentiful supply at the moment. Saudi Arabia is not interested in severely hurting the economies or the re-

gimes in Iran and Kuwait, and will not push the confrontation that far.

►A pyrrhic victory for consumers.

The beneficiaries of the price difference will not be the consumer but the handful of giant companies that control the international market. The Saudis are not even competent enough to market the increased production of about one million barrels a day themselves, but must turn to the same Aramco companies—Exxon, Mobil, Texaco and Socal—for that purpose, pairing them up with four European giants—Shell, British Petroleum, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP) and Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI)—three of whom already have large stakes in Middle East Oil. Never has the superficial character of Saudi oil nationalism been more transparent. With adversaries like Yamani, the multinational companies don't need friends.

The next six months will be important not just in the international oil market, but in the course of Mideast political developments as well. There are political forces even within Saudi Arabia who oppose splitting OPEC and raising production, and any indication of failure for Yamani's strategy, which is really dictated by Crown Prince Fahd, could lead to "intense political activity," in the words of former U.S. Ambassador James Akins, even in the kingdom where "politics" is a crime.

At the level of OPEC, the Venezuelan co-founder of that organization commented that December's developments represented a "pyrrhic victory for consumers." The split "had to go off sooner or later," said Juan Pablo Perez Alfonzo in Caracas, "and all we did was to strengthen the Saudis by trying to delay the explosion. Now the Arab world and OPEC can see what the real situation is instead of a false panorama of unity."

Joe Stork writes for MERIP and is the author of *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis*.



The victor Some of the victims

Mengistu Haile Mariam, Teferi Bante, Asrat Dista, Mogus Wolde Michael, Alemayeu Haile (left to right).



Coups, civil war wrack Ethiopia

By Robert A. Manning

This month's palace coup within Ethiopia's ruling military junta that left seven top figures dead, including head of state Gen. Tafari Bente, was a reflection of deep-seated domestic rebellions and disorder as well as accelerating hostilities with neighboring Somalia and Sudan. These tensions, along with increased friction between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and large-scale superpower arms sales and aid make the east-central region of Africa second only to Southern Africa as an area of potential conflict and unrest.

The shoot-out in Addis Ababa was the result of a power struggle stemming at least in part from differences within the Dergue, as the Ethiopia junta is known, on how to deal with internal strife that has placed the military regime in the shakiest position since the overthrow of former Emperor Haile Selassie in September 1974.

The Ethiopian government radio accused those executed of being connected to three opposition groups that represent the major challenges to the Dergue: the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), which has conducted a 15-year old guerrilla war for the independence of the northern coastal territory of Eritrea; the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), a Marxist group with sizeable support in and around Addis Ababa and surrounding provinces; and the rightist Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU), which is comprised largely of figures associated with the Selassie regime and conservative military officers.

►Socialism by decree.

The Dergue is now led by Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, who from the beginning has been considered a key figure. Its 60-man ruling committee still primarily consists of the military men who overthrew Selassie.

The Dergue has proclaimed a socialist path and ostentatiously carries "Marxist-Leninist" ideological baggage. To its credit, the Dergue has made some genuinely populist reforms, dismantling the feudal network that held together Selassie's Ethiopian empire.

The Dergue decreed a sweeping land reform that abolished landlord/tenant relations and granted land to the tiller (up to 24 acres per family), creating nominal peasant associations for administration, marketing and distribution. The Dergue also nationalized all land and industry.

But this "socialism by decree" has led to a steadily deteriorating situation. The lack of political experience, trained cadre and organization and a deeply entrenched regionalism and distrust of cen-

tral authority brought on by the Dergue has not been replaced by an infused sense of nationalism.

Consequently, the Dergue has resorted to heavy-handed tactics to reach its goals and has progressively alienated much of the population. The economy has steadily floundered, with inflation upwards of 30 percent, no real increase in incomes, no new construction, intermittent food

\$250,000 a day has left more than 30,000 dead. The government has employed brutal "search and destroy" tactics.

No end is in sight. The government, concerned about Eritrea's natural resources, its ports and its unravelling central authority, has refused to grant independence. The guerrillas have refused a compromise of regional autonomy, which was originally guaranteed

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shortages, all exacerbated by continuing political turmoil.

►Dependent on U.S.

Ethiopia has in the past been one of the U.S.'s closest allies in black Africa, receiving \$300 million in economic aid and \$279 million in military aid since 1952—equal to that received by the rest of Africa combined. Virtually the entire Ethiopian military has been trained and equipped by the U.S. and Israel.

The American military commitment to Ethiopia was primarily "payment" for the Kagnev military-intelligence station in Asmara, Eritrea, a key listening post for observing the Soviet bloc countries, the Mideast and Africa. At its height Kagnev had over 3,000 Americans staffing the post, but due to new satellite technology and political considerations, Kagnev is being phased out, reduced to 35 American personnel, and is presently a calling station for the U.S. Navy.

Despite its radical rhetoric, the Dergue remains dependent on American military assistance, signing a sales pact in 1975 for more than \$200 million in sophisticated hardware to be delivered over the next three years.

►Eritrean civil war.

The first and most serious challenge to the Dergue comes from Eritrea. More than half of Ethiopia's 45,000 troops are tied down in a Vietnam-style counterinsurgency operation against two loosely aligned guerrilla movements, the Marxist Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the ELF. Two government offensives in the past eight months have failed, and the guerrillas control some 75 percent of Eritrea, most of the countryside, while the government holds the main cities. The war, costing some

by a U.S.-backed UN decision but was violated by Selassie who annexed Eritrea in 1962, triggering the fighting.

The Marxist-oriented Tigre People's Liberation Front, which has links with the EPLF has also initiated guerrilla activity in Tigre province, which borders on Eritrea. Moreover, there has been insurgency in at least four other of Ethiopia's 14 provinces. In Begemdir in the north, bordering on Tigre, landlords and royalists lead the fighting.

In the capital, the EPRP has mobilized sizeable support from intellectuals, professionals and the labor unions, who had originally backed the Dergue. In recent months the Dergue has launched attempts to exterminate the EPRP, and there have been waves of violence and counter-violence.

►War of nerves with Sudan.

The regional hostilities, including a war of nerves with Sudan and potential conflict looming with Somalia, compounds Ethiopia's chaos.

The conservative Sudanese military regime of American-trained Gen. Jaafar Nimeiry has quietly permitted Eritrean liberation forces to operate through Sudan, although Nimeiry has served as the mediator in past negotiations. There are also some 140,000 Ethiopian refugees in Sudan, many Eritrean.

In recent months there has been a war of words between Sudan and Ethiopia, with each trading charges against the other. Nimeiry has accused Ethiopia of backing black secessionists in south Sudan against the Arab north, and more recently, in the first week of February, Nimeiry charged Ethiopian cooperation in a Libyan-sponsored coup attempt, the fourth against him in the past two years.

The U.S. is in an awkward position, as it is involved with both nations. Since the

anti-communist coup that brought Nimeiry to power, the U.S. has gradually moved closer to Sudan, as Sudan has been integrated into the Arab world. Nimeiry paid a 20-day visit to the U.S. last June, canvassing for military and economic aid. Last November, the lame duck Ford administration declared that the once-pro-Soviet Sudan could buy American arms, and Nimeiry has a \$500-million shopping list.

Sudan's pro-American tilt has opened the door to American investment and Arab petrodollars that are behind ambitious development plans to make Sudan the "breadbasket of the Arab World."

While American military aid to Ethiopia appears more a geopolitical move to counter potential Soviet influence and wield some leverage, the U.S. is backing the Sudan as part of a strategy of encouraging a regional alliance between the Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt.

►Conflict over Djibouti.

Conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia may be imminent over the French territory of Afars and Issas (FTAI), usually known by the name of its port, Djibouti. When France withdraws its colonial rule there in June, many experts expect Somalia to activate its long-standing claims of a "Greater Somalia" encompassing Somali nomads in Djibouti and southwestern Ethiopia.

The Dergue has charged that Somalia's radical military leaders are backing guerrilla activity in Ethiopia's western province of Ogaden, inhabited by nomadic Somali-stock people. Djibouti is now Ethiopia's main port through which some 60 percent of its imports come. Ethiopia's only other ports are Massawa and Assab in Eritrea, so Ethiopia could potentially become landlocked.

A liberation movement in Djibouti, the Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coast (FLSC), advocates resistance to French neo-colonial designs and is reserving the right to merge with Somalia. With the Ethiopian military tied down in Eritrea and elsewhere, some analysts feel Somalia may be tempted.

Somalia has also claimed parts of western Kenya, making possible but not likely a full-scale imbroglio between Soviet-armed Somalia (which has an informal defense pact with Uganda—also Soviet supplied) and American-armed Kenya and its informal ally, Ethiopia.

For Ethiopia, the question of whether the Dergue can consolidate power and mobilize the resources to build a socialist state may hinge on the outcome of the Eritrean struggle in the strategic Red Sea area.

Robert A. Manning lives in Berkeley and writes on international affairs.

When Germany Cried Wolf!

The incredible story of singer/poet Wolf Biermann — and why the East German government found him too hot to handle. . .

By Anson G. Rabinbach

*Make more happiness in reality.
Then you won't need so much Ersatz in my words.
Make yourselves a sweet life, citizens!
Then my dry wine will please you.
The poet is not a bag of sugar!
Spare yourself the humiliation of asking me to be one.*

The outpouring of protest by leading East German intellectuals against the forced exile of the socialist singer-poet Wolf Biermann has created the most significant political crisis in that country since the workers' uprising of June 1953. The exiled poet has become a symbol of the more hopeful mood among GDR intellectuals.

Biermann, while on a concert tour of West Germany, was informed that he would not be permitted to return to the German Democratic Republic. He had already been stripped of his citizenship shortly after a Nov. 13 appearance in Cologne. It is likely that his expulsion was planned well in advance, although his concert, televised on West German networks, was cited among the reasons for his exiling.

Shortly afterward a letter of protest and solidarity signed by 13 of the country's leading writers and artists was submitted to the official party daily *Neues Deutschland*.

The letter, which was not published, read: "Wolf Biermann was and is an uncomfortable poet—this he has in common with many poets in the past. Our Socialist state, remembering Marx's words in the *18th Brumaire* that the proletarian revolution must submit itself to unceasing criti-

cism, must be able to calmly and soberly tolerate such discomforts."

The 13 signers, a who's who of East German cultural life, included Christa Wolf, author of *The Divided Heaven*, poets Volker Braun, Gunter Kunert, authors Heiner Müller, Rolf Schneider, Stefan Heym, and the actress Jutta Hoffman.

►Protest spreads.

The letter unleashed a wave of protest among GDR intellectuals that was unprecedented in that country's 27 year history. By the end of November the list had grown to more than 100 and showed little sign of abating despite intensive government pressure.

Official measures against the dissidents have been the most severe in recent years, despite the fact that many are still party members. Physicist-philosopher Robert Havemann, a close friend of the exiled poet, whose heretical work *Dialectics without Dogma* (1964) led (as in Biermann's own case) to a ban on publishing and public appearances, was placed un-

der house arrest and heavy police guard on Nov. 26. Havemann, who appealed to party leader Erich Honecker, argued that Biermann had been turned into an ideal figure "for millions of young people in the GDR." "He embodies in a contradictory way a kind of last great hope for a socialism which they had already ceased to dream of."

Also arrested were the writers Jürgen Fuchs and Gerulf Pannach, the musician Christian Kunert, and a number of students who gathered signatures on Biermann's behalf outside the Zeiss optical factory in Jena. The party leadership also issued stern reprimands against the 13.

No doubt party leaders, surprised by the depth of support for Biermann, are worried that these intellectuals could become the vanguard of a much wider protest movement among the population.

There was also concern among intellectuals that an extreme government response could throw cultural life into a new dark ages, paralleling developments in Czechoslovakia since the 1968 Soviet in-

vasion. Although such severity is unlikely, there is some truth to the view that the current East German situation is in fact a rebirth of sentiments that were stifled in those years, but lived a subterranean existence.

►Biermann a socialist critic.

Havemann's letter also emphasized that Biermann was not "an enemy" of the GDR as the government charged. Biermann himself underscored his loyalty to the GDR as Germany's "better half" in expressing his desire to return home. This attitude has been a characteristic of Biermann's political standpoint from the outset.

He has always been a thorn in the side of both East and West German reaction by maintaining a belief in the utopian dimension of socialism against Stalinism and anti-Communism. The Western press continues to see him as a "bohemian" poet siding with the student left, and more recently with popular struggles in Chile, Portugal and Spain, while the GDR has found his belief in socialism as a possibility and not a fact of life increasingly disturbing.

In an interview with *Der Spiegel* he denied any comparison with the similarly exiled Soviet author Solzhenitsyn: "Everything Solzhenitsyn has written is in



Photo by UPI

my opinion, according to my experience, and to the reports of my comrades in the Soviet Union who vegetated for 20 years in Stalinist concentration camps, the truth and nothing but the truth. The problem is only that one can, with sad truths about the societies that call themselves socialist, spread dangerous lies about the only chance that mankind has: namely socialism." For this reason Biermann has remained loyal to the vision of socialism despite the misfortune that it has brought in its Stalinist forms.

Biermann has been a nemesis to East German authorities precisely because of his dogged refusal to compromise his socialist principles while honing in on the discrepancy between the so-called "real socialism" of East German society and its unfulfilled possibilities. His lyrics are eloquent on this subject and filled with a sense of his country's tragic history, particularly its Stalinist past.

►Son of communists.

Biermann is the son of communist parents. His father, a foreman on the Hamburg docks and active in the resistance, was arrested for attempting to sabotage arms shipments to Franco. He was murdered in Auschwitz in 1943.

In 1953, at the age of 17, Biermann voluntarily emigrated to East Germany to participate in the "socialist experiment" at a time when the flow was in the opposite direction. In East Berlin he studied political economy and later music under the composer, theoretician and Brecht collaborator Hanns Eisler. Biermann made his mark as a singer-poet, an East German version of Bob Dylan or Pete Seeger.

His difficulties with GDR authorities began in the early '60s when his critical songs began to attract wide attention. In 1963 he was officially expelled from the party and two years later, after a successful concert tour of both Germanies, he was deprived of the right to publish, perform publicly or sell his records in the GDR. (He has published in the West, nonetheless.)

Biermann spent the past 12 years restricted to writing and performing in his apartment. Attacks in the party press reached rock bottom when he was charged with being a burden on society since "Mr. Biermann could live here for more than ten years without working."

Biermann's lyrics often reflect the bitterness of his own experience with "computer Stalinism," with the threats against him, the hounding by the secret police, and the ban on his poetry and songs. But there is always a principle of hope in his writing, above all embodied in the belief that "the remedy for Socialism is still more Socialism—STILL MORE, still more, still more!"

Biermann now lives in West Germany. His address has been impossible to discover and gives concerts, where he sings and talks.

►Inspired by Euro-Communism.

Biermann's crisis was precipitated by an increasing crisis of governmental authority

in the GDR. In the past year authorities were faced with an ever-widening popular citizens' movement.

Biermann himself referred to this development in his *Spiegel* interview when he remarked: "I actually always thought and knew that one day they would lock me up or lock me out on the day when the political forces working toward a socialist democracy in the GDR became so strong that the ideas expressed in my songs take on material force."

The protest movement comes at a troubling time for East German authorities. Last summer the specter of Euro-Communism was haunting the German capitol. At the Berlin conference of Communist parties the GDR intelligentsia and large sectors of the population took heart from the speeches of the Italian, French and Spanish party leaders criticizing Soviet hegemony over European Communist parties. The publication of these speeches in the official press created the hope that the regime would be tolerant of those ideas in future months.

This hope was also encouraged by the position taken by GDR chairman Honecker in May at the Ninth East German Party Congress. At that time he remained aloof from Euro-Communist and Moscow factions, presenting a neutral compromise formula with the wishy-washy statement that relations among Communist parties should "center around exchanging experiences and agreeing upon joint standpoints in the struggle against imperialism."

►Soviet fears rekindled.

This equivocal platform only rekindled Soviet fears that Euro-Communism could become a fifth column and compromise its closest allies. Soviet pressure for signs of loyalty and public dissatisfaction with Honecker's "zigzag" policies became a major factor in the move against Biermann and other opposition intellectuals.

It has even been suggested that the Biermann exiling was "staged" in order to test the depth of dissident sentiment. In any case, most party leaders are now thought to have recognized that the move only exacerbated the problem.

Yet the government is caught in a substantial dilemma. The domestic politics of the Honecker regime have promised increasing material benefits and a western standard of living in return for mass loyalty. These gains, however, are predicated on good relations with the West, particularly West Germany, secured through the "ostpolitik" of the Social Democratic government.

The Honecker government, anxious to maintain an atmosphere of relaxed relations and increasingly dependent on West German currency and commodities to maintain a relatively high standard of living in comparison with other Soviet bloc nations—while fulfilling the economic demands of the Soviet Union for a variety of products—cannot afford to alienate the West through measures that would be perceived as a return to the stone age socialism of the Ulbricht period.

The tension created by Soviet demands for demonstrations of loyalty and the

counterpull of Western currency necessary for legitimacy is the key to understanding the current crisis. The future of the regime rests on its ability to keep the two poles afloat while the undertow of intellectual

dissent, Euro-Communism, and public disapproval threaten to wash it away.

Anson G. Rabinbach is a professor of social science at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., and works with *New German Critique*.

Take Heart

Don't you become hardened,
In these hard times
Those who cannot bend, will break
Those who cannot yield, will stiffen
And snap in two as well.

Don't you become embittered,
In these bitter times
The powerful will not be shaken
At the sight of your suffering,
Once you're safely behind bars.

Don't let yourself be frightened,
In these frightening times
It's their real intention
That we lay down our weapons
Before we've begun to fight.

Don't let yourself be used up,
Make it your time
You can't hide out
You need us, and we need you
Especially your heart.

We don't want to keep it silent,
In these silent times
The buds burst from the branches
We want everyone to see,
Then they'll know the truth.

—Translated by A. Rabinbach/J. Benjamin

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The corporate rule or ruin "trade-off"

"Stagflation"—sticky or rising prices in the midst of recession and high unemployment—is a new word. Its recognition by economists is new. But the condition is old. It has been a basic feature of the economy since the first corporate merger wave of 1898-1904 brought corporate capitalism into the New World. Once partial in impact, it is now endemic.

Nor is the coincidence of rising employment and rising prices new, nor the tendency of capital to cut back investment just when workers begin to taste the fruits of full employment and rising wages.

What is new, in the United States at least, is the explicit avowal by virtually all non-socialist economists, by liberals and conservatives alike, that capitalism (a "free economy") is incompatible with full employment.

Early heroic capitalism prided itself on replacing backward economies that fostered indolence and inefficiency with ones devoted to the work ethic and promising full employment and lowest costs at equilibrium. When economists and pro-corporate politicians today speak of the "inflation-employment trade-off," or define "full employment" as a 5 percent unemployment rate, they are conceding what socialists have been saying for over a century: that full employment and lowest costs are impossible under capitalism. This concession is new.

Since the 1930s, Keynesians have held that with proper government fiscal and monetary policy a capitalist economy could be brought to sustained full-employment. The "trade-off" doctrine signifies their surrender of even that fall-back position. This, too, is new.

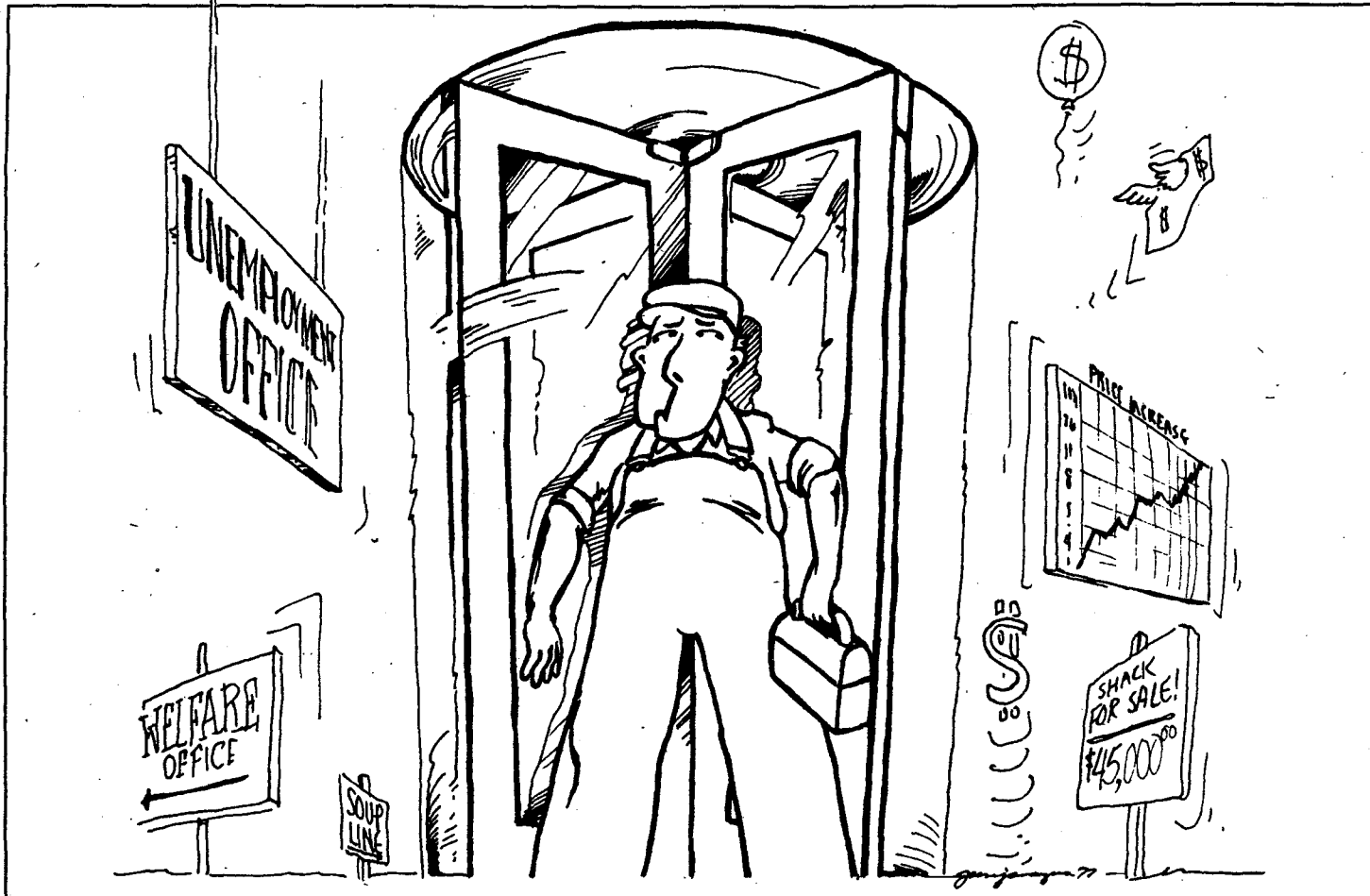
► A horrible trade-off.

As presidential and corporate consultant Pierre Rinfret puts it, "No economist in the world today knows how to reconcile full employment and low inflation in a free [capitalist] economy.... It's a trade-off, and a horrible one.... The only way to reconcile it is to abolish the free market [capitalism]." Or as Sen. Barry Goldwater said, Carter and Mondale "know as well as we (Republicans) do that a full-employment economy has never been achieved in this country and probably never will be. The closest we have ever come was in the midst of an all-out war." The "enormous [public] expenditures" required for full employment would cause "the kind of inflation that is plaguing Europe." In short, peace and prosperity for all are beyond the capacities of corporate-capitalism.

These statements do not distinguish Rinfret and Goldwater from "liberals," but emphasize a new common outlook among all shades of pro-corporate opinion. Carter's fiscal program and his stated goals for the next four years, drawn up by "liberal" Keynesians, confirm the new corporate consensus beyond doubt.

The new consensus in effect clearly concedes that corporate-capitalism cannot square its limited capacities with the needs of the American working people.

It admits that capitalism never did and never can "deliver the goods" to all or actualize equal opportunity, the central condition of a healthy modern democracy. The admission is all the more dramatic now that the "goods" required to meet the people's basic needs are increasingly social rather than personal in delivery and enjoyment, and they depend on a growing public sector whose adequate funding stands in conflict with corporate profit priorities and is resisted by corporate power.



Pro-corporate politicians and corporate executives tell us that any attempt to expand the public sector for purposes of achieving full employment and maintaining social services, will result in rampant inflation. In so doing, they are putting us on notice that they will respond to rising employment, a stronger collective bargaining position for labor, rising wages and benefits, with even higher prices and interest rates than they now impose during a recession. They are reminding us that past a certain level of employment, wages, and the income redistribution that goes with them, they will stage an investment strike to restore higher unemployment rates, just as they have been doing since 1970.

This is the essence of the corporate "inflation-employment trade-off" doctrine. The Lords Corporate will not deliver in the private sector full employment or even 7 percent unemployment without rising prices, and they will not permit the people to arrange for full employment and stable prices through the public sector. They want to keep labor's bargaining position weak through substantial unemployment, enforced both by their own investment policy and a weakened public sector.

► Labor's full employment policies.

It is precisely this corporate strategy, however, that is driving organized labor out of its lethargy and into full employment politics in the electoral arena, centered upon the expansion of the public sector. Labor's new direction is powerfully reinforced by its huge stake in public employment as such.

Labor's full employment political objective requires it to seek alliances to the left—among blacks, Hispanics, youth, women, all of whom have the utmost stake in a full employment economy.

The AFL-CIO and the UAW are calling for an annual \$30 billion additional public spending program as compared with Carter's puny, corporate-endorsed program of \$1.5 billion. The Black Congressional Caucus, as representative John Conyers reported last week, has endorsed that program. Labor and the black leaders will have to mobilize women, black,

other anti-corporate groups (ecology, energy, utilities, etc.) to forge an electoral coalition powerful enough to legislate for full employment against corporate priorities, and against a president, governors, mayors, and legislative incumbents bending to the corporate will. It will have to be a coalition ready for protracted struggle. And it will have to be a coalition of the democratic left.

It is no accident that increasing numbers of labor, black, women's, left-Democrat, and other anti-corporate leaders have either associated themselves with or expressed amicable attitudes toward the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's full employment political program.

But a full employment political program will have to challenge corporate control over the investment system, both because that control can sabotage full employment initiatives and because it also controls the public sector through the tax system, the price system, the bond markets, and the executive branches of government. It will have to move, in other words, to a democratic system of public investment and the abrogation or withering away of the corporate investment system. And that will require a mass movement poised to make the legislative branches the instruments of the popular will. The Lords Corporate will call this socialism, and for once their "realism" will not be so crackpot.

► All they are saying...

The next time politicians or corporate executives argue inflation against full employment, or intone the need for higher prices to induce "free enterprise" to supply the public with gas or oil, or threaten an investment fall-off should government spend to create jobs, let them think twice. For they are saying that capitalism—like the post office—is expensive and inefficient. The public could do it all cheaper, if it did not have to carry business on its back. They are saying that it is neither wise nor safe to leave society's crucial investment function to the whims and avarice of private profit-seekers. They are saying that the "free enterprise" system,

equal opportunity, is incompatible with the people's freedom to provide for their own needs; that the corporate investment power is irresponsible and unaccountable to democratic standards.

They are saying that a public investment system, democratically controlled, would be a cheaper, more reliable, and safer method of achieving the people's welfare and democratic goals. They are saying, finally, that capitalism has become an obsolescent menace to democracy and the general welfare.

In the good old days of competitive capitalism, inflation meant an aberration in the frictions of supply and demand, or in a stupid or venal depreciation of the monetary standard. Today it is an index of the class struggle. It measures the relative strengths of labor and capital in dividing the national income and in controlling the investment system, but in a situation where labor is too strong simply to be suppressed but not strong enough to transact a new social order.

Inflation is the expression of the social stand-off between capitalism and labor. It registers the impasse characteristic of civilizations in decline, as Kissinger knows and as Brzezinski tries to wish away, which is perhaps why he is serving the born-again President. Carter may be capital's last decent wish before it goes to the indecent.

The impasse will be broken either by the corporate embrace of outright repression or by the determination of labor and its allies on the left to act on behalf of the general welfare by the explicit, genuinely patriotic assumption of the legacy left them by Eugene V. Debs—socialism and democracy.

The commitment by labor and its allies to full-employment politics, carried to its consummation, spells the death-knell of capitalism in the United States. That is why the Lords Corporate will resist it to the last with their rule or ruin inflation "trade-off." That is why all sincere social democrats and social liberals are becoming democratic socialists. It is the "material" basis for the reunification of the socialists among themselves and for the trade union movement and all other people's move-

The "Impeccable Maurice" is dead: in memory of great Marxist scholar

By C. H. George

Maurice Dobb died last fall. He was 76. His death is a sad inevitability. It is also something of a disaster. The thin ranks of the English-speaking Marxist left cannot afford such a loss. No one except Marx has so influenced my historical view of the modern world. I hope I can write a few lines to express a sentiment older Marxists will share and which may perhaps encourage younger people to test the work of this remarkable scholar.

Dobb was a life-long communist and therefore never visited the United States. Honored by the socialist world, by India and Western Europe, he has remained relatively unknown to American academic communities. His fine talent for popularizing political economy and history has been completely blacked out of our schools, unions, and media forums.

My shock at learning of Dobb's death seemed to come just after I had recovered from the shock of his "retirement" as a senior professor of Economics (Reader) at the University of Cambridge, ending an important epoch with no adequate succession of Marxist brains and energy. That melancholy occasion was almost ten years ago and was marked by an upbeat, loving commemorative issue of *Marxism Today*, the theoretical journal of the British Communist Party.

Dobb's extraordinary career in that ancient seat of religious and polite learning packaged for the English ruling class is recalled by colleagues and admirers. They remember with amusement the long period of university anxiety over the young

Dobb whose precocious undergraduate years (first class honors in both parts of the Economics Tripos) were followed by a very undonnish first book at the age of 24 (*Capitalist Enterprise and Social Progress*) and by an explicit commitment to the revolutionary social movements of the communist world. There is even an old, unverified story that King George V expressed alarm upon learning that one of the great universities was harboring such a Bolshevik spirit.

►A brood of revolutionary intellectuals.

For years Dobb remained a University lecturer—no College would take him as a fellow. During the brief warmth of the 'wartime ally' years with the USSR his friends finally and narrowly won his election to a fellowship at Trinity. The years before he was granted some security were enormously creative ones for Dobb, in many ways probably his best and happiest. In the '30s he was able, with such distinguished help as that provided by J.D. Bernal, David Guest, John Cornford, and James Klugmann, to form a University Communist Party and a lively community of Marxists within the city—a brood of revolutionary intellectuality which attracted visitors from all over England and the world.

On a broader front, his remarkable *Wages*, first published in 1928 and much revised later, had actually become a standard university text. In 1937 he published *Political Economy and Capitalism* which many think his most original contribution to economic theory. It was a landmark in that orthodox economists for the first time

seemed to recognize Marxist economics as a university discipline.

Dobb spent the war in Cambridge as a member of the Home Guard, but chiefly as teacher to students fleeing the Nazi blitz of London. After the war Dobb published an essay which is the major contribution to Marxist historiography since Marx himself framed the problem of the "transition" from feudalism to capitalism. *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946) remains the analytical standard against which the work of later Marxists must be measured, and found wanting.

As Eric Hobsbawm reminds us ("Capitalist Development: Some Historical Problems," *Marxism Today*, August, 1967), when Dobb's *Studies* appeared British economists had lost all interest in the history of capitalism. Capitalism, they argued, had always existed. With the publication of *Studies* Marxist analysis again focused attention on the crucial historical problem that Marx himself first set, that of understanding the origins of capitalism as a social system and culture. In 1951 Dobb's *Some Aspects of Capitalist Economic Developments* led to the justly famous *Science and Society* debates, which are currently assuming ever larger intellectual and polemical proportions.

►Writings on socialist planning.

Dobb became increasingly interested in Soviet economics and made himself perhaps the leading authority in the West on that uncharted sea. He visited the Soviet Union in 1925 for the first time and returned for many visits. *Soviet Economic*

Development Since 1917 appeared in 1948, followed by a series of papers and monographs, all characteristically both informed and lucid. Two of his most durable are *An Essay on Economic Growth and Planning* (1960) and *Welfare Economics and the Economics of Socialism* (1969).

Dobb also ventured occasionally into defenses of his method ("Historical Materialism and the Economic Factor," *History*, 1950) and wrote the valuable history of economic thought, *Theories of Value and Distribution Since Adam Smith* (1973).

Probably the most painful part of Dobb's life had to do with his faithful membership in the Communist Party. He was a founding member of the British party and on the editorial board of *Marxism Today* until his death. After the 20th Congress of the CPSU, he wrote the *Daily Worker* begging fellow intellectuals to stay in the party with their criticisms, to improve rather than destroy it. Later he once wryly noted that as a result, "so many ex-communists crossed the street so as not to meet me."

All that is past now. Even those who crossed the street will miss him. What remains for us all is the memory of a gentle, gifted, resolute Marxist life, the man a comrade once called "the impeccable Maurice," a man whose works remain a treasure of dedication and analytical lucidity we can draw upon for many troubled years ahead.

C. H. George is Professor of British History at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill. He is author of *The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation*, and *Revolution: European Radicals from Hus to Lenin*.

Letters

The Post Office works

Editor:

I am now an avid reader of *IN THESE TIMES* and would like to share this excellent paper with a friend of mine.

If it's possible for you to send her the paper in a plain wrapper she might be more likely to get it since the local post office has apparently withheld some of her "subversive" mailings.

—Ann Gilmore
Richmond, Va.

Merciful Sisters

Editor:

Tim Frasca's "Offshore Oil" (*ITT*, Feb. 16) gives an objective review of new legislation.

I do object to the implied linkage between market domination by the 7 Sisters and the "anarchy of recent years." It is pure myth that small-enterprise business is either efficient or economical or conservative in its use of natural resources.

It is possible to have socially irresponsible monopolies, but the big oil companies certainly have been responsible, and relatively easy on the U.S. consumer, as facts show.

There's plenty of anarchy in government policy—much less in big oil. But big oil does need to follow a better policy than the absurd "free-enterprise" ideology of our politicians.

—William J. Mecham
La Grange, Ill.

Computing will make it so

Editor:

Please accept my congratulations and appreciation for your excellent paper. I am introducing it to a number of friends.

I would like to introduce an idea: Suppose a computer were to digest all the data regarding the growth rate of socialism in all forms and all manners starting from 1848 and the writing of the Manifesto up to the present time, and then project ahead a probable curve of continued growth?

The result would be that the computer, that infallible god of our contemporary world, would make the startling announcement not only that socialism is inevitable, but that rates of growth in-

dicade that within a very short period all of Europe will be socialist and increasing segments of American national life will be further influenced by socialist reforms.

It can have a tremendous impact on the American public. If science of computer prediction and analysis tells them something they are more likely to listen than from any other source. Not do-gooder opinion. Not political polemic. But solid scientific prediction.

I have no idea what the costs are for the use-time of computer facilities, but I would like to help raise money toward the accomplishment of such a project, including publication of the results.

—Bill Norton
Carpinteria, Calif.

Silly and disappointing

Editor:

Please try to be a little more consistent.

Robert Carson's piece in the Feb. 2 issue is excellent. It also explains why the full page editorial on the back page is so silly. The 19th century "worker" is becoming as peripheral to the economy as the 17th century farmer.

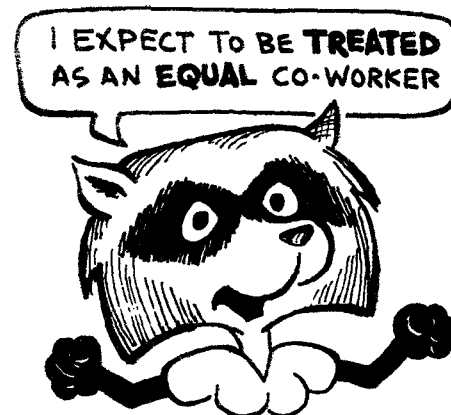
The month-long paeon to the French Communist Party is shameful. Their "good" is what gives them power, and their "bad" is what doesn't, like any party. The solution to trusts is hardly to amalgamate them into one big trust. And just because the party hadn't authorized the insurrection of '68 doesn't mean it was wrong. The workers can act occasionally.

Your "Repression in Russia" editorial in the Feb. 9 issue is another disappointment. The way the Russian government treats its people is the same now as it was 75 years ago, technical advances aside. Russian foreign policy is the same too. For example, in the Middle East Russia's designs were initiated by Peter the Great.

The Russian Revolution failed. The "czarist regime that the Bolsheviks overthrew" was gone six months before. The "short-lived flowering of democratic participation and activity" was ended by the entrenchment of Bolshevik power, as finalized at Kronstadt in 1921.

Then again, my disliking only a few pages an issue is probably pretty good. Please keep it up, but please be a little more careful.

—Neil Rest
Chicago



Frances Moore Lappe Joe Collins

Congress losing control of foreign aid to closed-door executive agencies

A number of hunger action groups around the country have placed high on their agenda lobbying Congress for foreign assistance programs that would assist someone else other than American multinational corporations, large landholders, dictators, food speculators and other elites. Some of these lobbyists have been making inroads on congressional voting (witness the last Congress' passage of human rights amendments on foreign aid legislation). But, as a recent study of the Washington-based Center for International Policy shows, the selection of recipients of U.S. foreign aid is increasingly outside the control of Congress.

Congressional control has been declining because a growing proportion of aid goes through financial institutions such as the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The loan decisions of these institutions are not subject to congressional review on a country-by-country basis, as are those of the Agency for International Development (AID), the P.L. 480 program, the Peace Corps and the military assistance program. Last year (fiscal 1976) the proportion of aid channeled through the international development banks and semi-autonomous U.S. government corporations rose to 69 percent. Of the \$24.9 billion countries received from American taxpayers, Congress debated, authorized and appropriated country allocations of only \$7.7 billion, according to James Morrell, author of the study.

The percentage of aid to countries whose repressive policies have made them unpopular with Congress and with a

sizable segment of the American public is even higher than the 69 percent average.

•South Korea, whose authoritarian president has jailed most of his public critics, received \$1.6 billion in credits, guarantees, and insurance through 12 U.S. bilateral and U.S.-supported multilateral

\$74 million, or 21 percent. Recent record World Bank loans for export-oriented agriculture have even further evaded congressional control.

•In the Philippines, for five years the government under martial law has opened the country to foreign agribusiness and

shot down in the streets in the struggle for justice, got \$310 million from two American programs and the IMF, of which Congress did not specifically approve a single penny.

This erosion of Congressional control, the Center's study observes, has gone virtually unnoticed by the press, the public and in Congress itself.

Only the four traditional bilateral programs—AID, PL-480, the Peace Corps and military assistance—must submit to Congress every year a list of planned recipients with program justifications and dollar amounts. Twelve other official agencies and international financial institutions operate in a bureaucratic fashion—behind closed doors. None of these 12 admits members of Congress, let alone the taxpaying public, to the board meetings where their aid allocation decisions are made. Even the recently enacted Government-in-the-Sunshine Act will not apply to the secretive habits of these institutions, according to their staff lawyers.

On Feb. 10, C. Fred Bergsten, Assistant Treasury Secretary-designate announced that the Carter administration will put even heavier emphasis on channeling economic aid through multilateral institutions such as the World Bank. So much for bringing the government closer to the people.

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins are co-directors of the Institute for Food and Development Policy. Their book, written with Cary Fowler, *First Food: Beyond the myth of scarcity*, will be published in March. Lappe is author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. Their column appears regularly. Syndicated In These Times.

IN THESE TIMES OPINION

Twelve official agencies and international financial institutions operate behind closed doors—None admits members of Congress. . . So much for Carter's promise of "open government". . .

spigots, more than any other U.S. aid-recipient except Israel. Of that \$1.6 billion, only \$347 million, or 22 percent, came through channels subject to prior congressional review.

•Chile's military junta has instituted an economic regime designed to further impoverish the working classes in order to wring increased profits for the elites and their partners, the multinational corporations. The junta, congressional human rights provisos notwithstanding, walked away with \$357 million in credits, guarantees and insurance. Of that amount, Congress debated and authorized only

sought to crush resisting peasant movements. In 1976 the Marcos dictatorship got \$1.5 billion, of which Congress approved specifically only \$95 million, or 6 percent. Word in Washington is that the Carter administration will seek to increase aid to Marcos under the guise of instructing the Pentagon to boost its rent for military bases on the islands.

•In Indonesia a military dictatorship that rules by terror while leasing peasants' land to Japanese agribusiness, received \$930 million, of which Congress specifically approved \$133 million, or 14 percent.

•South Africa, where hundreds are

Roberta Lynch

Cynicism—an American way of life afflicting working class and the left

Cynics were once thought of as a small—and elite—band who had seen into the heart of the human condition and found it wanting. Cynics knew all about wrongdoing; nothing could shock them, or move them. They were beyond being wounded or galvanized.

Now cynicism has become an American way of life. Today's cynicism is not the snobbish brand of old, but a peculiar marriage of insight and feelings of impotence. It is a bulwark of inactivity that afflicts both the working class and the left.

This cynicism was not born yesterday. Some of its roots go back to the 1950s with the creation of a massive middle class (obscuring working class identity), and the growth of a conformist and status-seeking mass psychology. The underside of those years, the hysterical anti-communism that bulldozed progressive people into passivity, created a seemingly impregnable welding of major social institutions—particularly the trade unions—into a new political consensus.

From all this emerged a hybrid form of cynicism—a bleary-eyed optimism about inevitable economic progress combined with a deep pessimism about effecting social change. When I was a kid in those days, there was one phrase that ended all discussions of political dissatisfaction—"you can't fight city hall."

The '60s were not cynical, at least for the most part. If anything, it was a decade of idealism, even of great naivete. The idealism was not misplaced; in fact it was essential to fight for a new order. But the naivete created problems. It led some to believe that the system was essentially bu-

mane, if misguided, and that pointing out its errors could change it. It led others to believe that revolution was "just a shot away"—that the system was crumbling under the weight of mass protest and cultural turmoil.

And it led many of the '60s activists to forget that even taken all together (and they never quite got all together) they were not a majority of the American people. Many working class people remained not only outside but hostile to the social movements of the day. The myth of progress within the given ethical and political universe was nurtured in their ranks. And in an ironic twist of fate, white workers often saw themselves aligned with the power structure against those who threatened that universe.

I don't know whether it happened in 1969 or 1972, but somewhere along the line the 1960s ended and the 1970s began. When the activists of the '60s perceived that the system was not infinitely elastic and that there was often massive indifference to their goals, naivete gave way to cynicism. And when they saw the worsening economic conditions, the loss of even limited gains, and the repression that was visited on their heads, that cynicism hardened further. (In many cases it led to a blindness to the real changes in consciousness, social relationships, and economic possibilities that had emerged from the '60s.)

Strange things have also happened to the "silent majority" of the '60s in the 1970s. The war in Vietnam ended with a Vietnamese victory, but without the long-threatened "bloodbath," and "Soviet

takeover." Suddenly in the cold light of peace, the reasons for the war seemed mysterious, even absurd. Why had so many lives been lost in Vietnam? Most Americans still cannot answer this question, but neither can they forget. But the domino mythology of anti-communism that formed the primary rationale for American foreign policy no longer works.

Then there was Watergate and related events. A vice-president of the United States indicted. The President forced to resign in the face of impeachment proceedings. Crime and dishonesty in the highest reaches of government. The whole affair seriously undermined the ethical and social constraints that supposedly made up the American value system. (Clearly, one of the main thrusts of Carter's presidency is to restore something of this system.)

Perhaps most fundamentally, as the economic crises deepened, the myth of advancement and inevitable economic progress also began to crumble. Unemployment, speed up, fear of striking, and inflation all took their toll. But unfortunately, because this "progress" had relied on individual effort, the lack of it was largely blamed on individual failure. People felt increasingly powerless to affect even their own lives, let alone the larger society.

Americans no longer understand their role in the world, the workings of their government, or the direction of their own lives. Working people have become increasingly aware of the role of big business, of their own limited options and input. But without a credible alternative the

result of this awareness has only been cynicism.

Cynicism is a circular problem. People need to see that change is possible, and that there are vehicles for bringing it about. But where will that initial movement come from? It may be that the first cracks are appearing now, in some cases within the same institutions that once seemed so bound to the status quo.

Among the most significant of these are the tremors within the labor movement—the dissatisfaction of workers with their jobs and often with their unions—that are producing new alignments. In addition, the challenges to organized religion are touching off radical minority trends and some startlingly progressive majority stands. And the ideological confusion of the dominant forces is allowing for greater expression of dissident views in the mass media.

It's too soon to say whether any of this will help to spark the necessary mass activity, but there is certainly cause for hope. I think that this is why *Roots* and the Sadowski effort—different as they are—inspired so much interest. Each sends a message: you don't have to give up; even if you don't win the first time or the second time, you can still turn things around. A setback is not a defeat. Dark days are not oblivion. And cynicism should not be the order of the day.

Roberta Lynch is National Secretary of the New American Movement. Her column appears regularly.

Health care stalemated in chaos of private profiteering at public expense

By Gary Victor

This column will appear from time to time to illuminate trends in health and welfare that have not become front-page news but soon will.

As the stalemate around national health insurance reform moves into its sixth year, savvy special interests in the health field are putting more effort into contests for control of the health systems agencies now beginning operation throughout the country.

None of the forces that want expansion of national health insurance (NHI)—unions, large corporations with open-end insurance plans, hospitals, group insurers—have stopped talking about the inevitability of NHI. But none of them believe any definitive step will be taken in that direction this year, despite the creation of a task force of interested parties by President Carter in mid-February.

The major reason for stalemate is the shocking escalation in medical costs and its impact on the Health, Education and Welfare Department's budget for Medicare and Medicaid. To a majority in Congress, no expanded health-care reimbursements can be considered as long as the present ones are expanding so rapidly. A classic case of demand-push inflation besets health-care: Demand for services is backed by public and private reimbursement systems that have almost no control over fees charged. The "third party payers" cover everyone over 65 and 90 percent of the rest. They have responded by demanding a mountain of paper from providers, adding to costs. Though they frequently "disallow" charges, this never stabilizes health prices.

►Medicaid has become a scandal.

The tax-eaters are being identified in the media and pilloried by Congressional committees. These tax-eaters, unlike "welfare cheaters," "unemployment insurance frauds," or "no-show civil servants," are capitalists. We read of "Medicaid mills" in which the physicians routinely bill for services never rendered, and of clinical laboratories making 1000 percent profits and kicking back to doctors for referrals. Private nursing home operators who pad their reimbursement base by creative accounting have also been brought under scrutiny. Investigators for the Senate subcommittee on long-term care have stated that as much as 20 percent of Medicaid outlays may be going for ripoffs.

The other reason for stalemate is insufficiency of the popular forces for change. National health insurance is not a salient issue for any component of the governing Democratic Party coalition except trade unions, which favor the Kennedy-Corman bill. Big business supporters of the Democrats are sympathetic to reform because of their lack of control over costs of collectively bargained health benefits, but they are not sold on Kennedy-Corman.

The key to Kennedy-Corman is that it nationalizes and consolidates the insurance-company functions now performed by Blue Cross/Blue Shield, private carriers, state governments, and the Medicare operation of the Social Security Administration.

Unfortunately, private insurance companies have hardly been nicked by the wave of social criticism that has put large corporations on the defensive since the rise of Nader. Private carriers are less efficient and more costly than public insurance, as can be seen in Workman's Compensation insurance, where six states including Ohio have long banned private

carriers, resulting in 20 percent cheaper insurance on the average.

But labor's case for Kennedy-Corman has been argued very unimaginatively, and will have to include exposures of private insurance if it is going to get anywhere.

►The public/private mix-up.

Under the National Health Planning and Resource Development Act of 1975 (and its predecessor, the Comprehensive Health Planning program), HEW has created a network of regulatory and planning bodies throughout the 50 states. These agencies, known as Health System Agencies on the local level and Statewide Health Coordinating Councils on the state level, oversee the federal grant programs for health, and pass on construction programs in the private sector.

The law allows Social Security to withhold payments from facilities whose expansion was not approved by the designated planning agencies. By this means HEW hopes to be able to rein in some of the inflation; Cost Containment is the watchword. HEW is also considering reimposing price controls on hospitals.

Along with these bricks-and-mortar controls, Congress has also authorized Professional Services Review Organizations (PSRO)—self-policing cost-containment and quality control agencies set up by the medical societies.

Both programs are being challenged on constitutional grounds. The Burger Supreme Court may turn a sympathetic ear to these challenges, especially if they are based on States' Rights doctrine. By chartering semi-autonomous local agencies or corporations, these laws depart from the prior pattern of state-government sovereignty over health matters.

If they are not struck down by the Court, it will still be some time before they affect the industry, because they are

intricate bureaucratic inventions operating on several levels of review. Even simple regulatory agencies have trouble making up their minds.

When these HSAs and PSROs develop a regulatory strategy and begin to implement it they will wield a great deal of power to make structural changes in health systems. For that reason all the parties in health politics are now contending for control of them.

►Three strategies.

In these planning and regulatory bodies, at least three themes can be advanced.

First, the defense and expansion of the existing public hospital systems—general and mental. The planning bodies can be challenged to prevent construction of additional acute-care or long-term beds where public hospitals exist with adequate capacity. And they can be used to force Medicaid agencies properly to reimburse community satellite clinics established by public hospitals to deliver outpatient care.

Second, the attack on private insurers. The planning bodies will have to be pushed to get them interested in investigating the insurance companies, but labor should be convinced to mobilize the pushing.

Third, these bodies can propose public health solutions to Medicaid scandals. Where clinical labs and pharmacies are shown to be ripping off the state, the planning bodies can develop a program for public health departments to open competing labs and pharmacies.

If the public health alternative to the present chaos is given some flesh and body, new interests will arise to press for a comprehensive public health care system. This is the formula for getting out of the current stalemate.

"Gary Victor" is a pseudonym for a trade unionist who follows developments in the areas of health and welfare.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

40 years of getting people together

By Dan Marschall
Staff Writer

PROFILE

"The big organizing drive in Harlan County got underway around 1936-37. There were a lot of bloody fights where people lost their lives. I remember one time when a bunch of miners were going to the store on their day off and a carload of gun thugs—paid by the company to kill anybody who was talking union—caught up with them and jumped out to search them.

"I had signed up a number of them myself, so I knew they were carrying authorization cards for the dues checkoff. I was walking behind them and pulled out my union card, stuck it in my mouth, and began chewing it like chewing tobacco. They never found it on me. They searched all the others and probably would have killed them or put them in jail if a superintendent who knew the men hadn't walked up. He made a little bonfire with the cards and just warned them not to fool with that union anymore."

Incidents like this were everyday occurrences in "Bloody Harlan," Bill Worthington explains, often ending in pitched gun battles between company detectives and union miners.

While never a paid organizer, Worthington, who joined the miners union when he was 15, helped ship people across the mountains on organizing expeditions. "You couldn't use the highways because the gun thugs would be waiting. So I'd take 35-40 men across a mountain, slip into a mine, and have all the miners signed up before the company knew a thing about it," he says.

Retired after 33 years in the mines, Worthington has never stopped organizing. He now heads the nine-state Appalachian region of the Black Lung Association, formed in the late 1960s to lobby for black lung legislation and pressure for full benefits for disabled miners. After addressing a recent meeting of the Chicago Area Black Lung Association, Worthington talked to *IN THESE TIMES* about union organizing, the growth of the black lung movement and politics in the United Mine Workers union.

► **Automation, corrupt leaders sap union strength.** Worthington went to work in the mines at the age of 16 after his father, a miner for 45 years who had been blacklisted for his union activities, took the flu. His salary of \$3.80 per day was at times the only income for a family of 11 children. He started loading coal, but soon became a brakeman, one of the most dangerous jobs in the mines.

"I followed that type of work for 31 years," he says. "I was completely covered with rock four times. You had to ride the empty cars into the mines and sometimes the bottom of the mine would heave and throw off the track just enough for the corner of the car to catch a timber. When it knocked a timber the rock would just pile in. I'll never forget the time I got completely covered up with a solid slab of rock—a steel bank car was all that saved me."

Weren't there precautions taken against these accidents? "Well, a lot of that rock needed to be taken down and thrown away," he responds. "But the boss would say 'you can't timber that' because he didn't want to slow down production. Unfortunately, that kind of speed-up in search of the dollar bill would get people hurt and often killed."

Coal dust was another hazard little understood at the time. The company seldom bothered to properly ventilate the mines, so dust would hang at the coal face in a dense, black cloud. When mechanization came to Harlan mines around 1955,



Photo by Keep Strong

machines like the joyloader and continuous miner increased the quantity of dust and made it even finer than before.

Mechanization also wiped out many of the unskilled jobs that were mostly held by black miners. Worthington, who is black, retained his job because he learned to operate the new machines after helping to haul them underground.

At the time "almost every mine in Harlan County was organized," he remembers. "Then things began to slip back because local union representatives got into bed with the coal companies. The workforce was also getting smaller, making it harder to buck the company. By the early '60s, there wasn't much union left."

► **Welfare rights activities lead to union reform.**

In the absence of a strong union, Worthington turned to other kinds of organizing. Around 1963, he became involved in the War on Poverty and began to agitate around welfare rights, food stamps and public assistance. As first chairman of the Kentucky Welfare Rights Group, he worked with college students and other volunteers who came to the coal fields to teach people about "what they ought to have."

"This influx of people began opening people's minds to the fact that there was more to living than what the city fathers and the local coal companies said. The whole welfare rights movement opened their eyes to what they were supposed to be getting and trained people to demand what was rightfully theirs," he explains.

This popular upsurge soon spilled back into reform of the UMW itself. W.A. "Tony" Boyle, a lieutenant of John L. Lewis, had been union president since 1963. "But he was not doing any organizing," Worthington complains. "We were losing places already organized and knew that local union representatives were selling out to the coal companies. They refused to take cases where miners were fired for no apparent reason. These cases should have been won—instead they would just settle with the companies. And protest to Boyle did no good."

"So we formed the Miner's Wives and Widow's Group, and later the Miners for Democracy, to change the whole concept and direction of the union." Opposition to Boyle initially coalesced around Jock Yablonski, a long time Executive Board member who ran for UMW president against Boyle in 1969. The MFD was formed primarily as his campaign organization.

Black lung was also gaining more attention at this time. Drs. Rasmussen and Buff, West Virginia physicians who had treated victims of the disease for many years, barnstormed around the coal fields

to inform people that their "miners asthma" was an occupational illness long recognized in other countries.

Yablonski lost that election to Boyle because of massive vote fraud later found by the Labor Department. Then in January 1970, he and his family were gunned down in their home, a crime later pinned on Tony Boyle.

"The murder of Yablonski shook the MFD all to pieces," Worthington says. "It didn't disappear completely, but sort of faded back. That's when the Black Lung Association came into being. It mostly consisted of the same people—we basically changed our name and went right back to work."

► **Miners wildcat for black lung compensation.**

Worthington, who was still working in the mines, then became head of the BLA in Kentucky at the same time that he chaired the state's Welfare Rights Group. The BLA set up diagnostic clinics in the state to test disabled miners and help them receive state workmen's compensation.

The BLA soon realized that a federal black lung law was essential. Disabled miners were spread from the hills of Appalachia to the Northside of Chicago. Individual state workmen's compensation laws did not recognize black lung as a legitimate occupational disease. In consultation with a West Virginia legal assistance program, the BLA drew up the Coal Health and Safety Act of 1969. Rep. Harley Perkins of Kentucky introduced it into Congress.

The bill met fierce opposition from coal operators and bureaucratic neglect from Congresspeople. "The union did not support the bill in Congress and in fact discouraged it on the local level," Worthington says. "Boyle did not like the BLA and tried to destroy it in any way he could. He sent telegrams to all the local unions saying that everyone in the BLA were communists and were trying to take over his union."

"We had no help at all from the union on passing that bill," he continues. "It was just a bunch of disabled coal miners who took it upon themselves and said this is what we need and we're going to have it despite the union."

In the face of such powerful opposition, how did they get the bill passed? "We started a nationwide coal strike," he answers. "The bill was stuck in committee most of 1969. We said no more coal would be mined until the bill was passed and asked miners to come out in support. The walkout eventually spread to five states. Within a week—on the last day of the session—we had a black lung law. We didn't even have a chance to get everyone out."

► **Union reform triumphs, black lung law drags.**

For the first time in American history, miners had the legal right to receive compensation for black lung as a recognized occupational disease. The bill's passage had another effect: it revitalized the opposition within the union by showing that Boyle and his cohorts were far from invincible. In cooperation with BLA members, the Miners for Democracy resurfaced after the 1969 election was overturned and nominated Arnold Miller, a miner disabled from black lung who headed the West Virginia BLA as candidate for UMW presidency in the 1972 election.

"It was a rugged campaign," Worthington recalls. "Many people were thrown in jail, including myself. I was campaigning for Arnold around the country and kicked off the campaign with a rally in Harlan County. I chaired the meeting, introduced the slate, and was arrested for public drunkenness—we had gone out for a drink after the rally—soon after it ended."

Miller won the UMW presidency and began a thorough house-cleaning of the union in 1973. The MFD was disbanded. It was clear by then that the Black Lung Act needed serious revisions, but the BLA made the mistake, Worthington says, of "depending on the union to lead the fight for amendments. They worked on it somewhat, but just didn't have the time or manpower to push it hard enough. We slacked off on lobbying, though we did manage to improve services by demonstrating at federal offices."

Neither the union nor the BLA has pushed through a significant improvement in the law since then. In 1972, the law was amended to require that benefits be paid by the last responsible coal company. This provision has resulted in coal operators appealing 97 percent of black lung claims and in long delays for disabled miners the federal government has found eligible for benefits.

This year the UMW and the BLA have introduced a bill providing for a permanent black lung program that "will go on for as long as there are coal mines. We also want a tax on all coal mined, whether it's union or not, that would be put into a trust fund to pay all black lung claims since 1973," Worthington says.

In addition to specific reforms in the black lung law, the BLA is pressing for health and safety improvements in the mines: lowering dust levels, cutting noise, improving ventilation and training miners to use safety equipment and first aid.

► **Calls for national policy for occupational health.**

Worthington views the black lung movement as part of a broader effort to combat unsafe and unhealthy working conditions throughout American industry. The BLA is working with groups fighting occupational illness in textile mills—where workers contract byssinosis from breathing cotton dust—show factories, and steel mills.

He eventually hopes to form a national organization to wipe out these health hazards. "We're working with a number of other groups to try and clean up workplaces as a preventative measure. I think Congress is beginning to see this. We hope that preventative measures and the clean up of all workplaces will eventually become a national policy."

Other unions are also beginning to realize this, Worthington says. "In 1971, we began talking about a national occupational health and safety organization. At the time, union officials and union educators were not that interested. Now I think people are waking up and saying that this is what we really need."

NATURAL RESOURCES

Smokey now carries a big stick

Park rangers are being turned into a wilderness police force.

By Bernard Shanks
Pacific News Service

Yosemite National Park National Park rangers, long a symbol of the skilled conservationist ready to assist the unwary traveler, are suddenly becoming members of a wilderness police force.

Smokey now carries a big stick.

Spurred by rising crime in the '60s, National Park Service officials are making law enforcement a top priority. Park Service Director Gary Everhardt told Congress, "Protection of the visitor can be accomplished only through an aggressive professional law enforcement program."

As a result, Congress has provided the service with large budgets for law enforcement, and the character, training and background of the uniformed Park Ranger has changed markedly.

Whereas graduates of natural resources and conservation programs once filled the ranks of park rangers, the jobs are now going to police science graduates and former policemen.

One new graduate with training in conservation and outdoor skills complains that he faces a mandatory 400 hours of law enforcement training if he wants employment as a ranger. "I'm sure I would be assigned all law enforcement work, and I have no desire to be a cop," he says.

Since the law enforcement drives began, more than 500 rangers have been trained at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center and the FBI Academy. Twelve weeks of police training is now routine for all field rangers, with emphasis on firearms, crowd control and investigative skills.

►Even a SWAT squad.

For special problems, a 40-man SWAT team has been developed that can be flown into problem parks to handle serious crime and riots. Specially trained in riot control, team members work in Washington, D.C., parks and in various other park areas, but can be pulled together for emergencies.

Last year the SWAT team was flown to a site near Utah's Zion National Park when officials feared an invasion of Hells' Angels.

The law enforcement emphasis has been costly for both Congress and conserva-

tion. In fiscal 1976 Grand Canyon Park allocated \$83,000 for aerial patrols to enforce backcountry regulations. Yosemite Park constructed a new \$65,000 jail. Handguns for issue to all rangers cost \$100,000, and more than \$1 million has been spent on police training since 1974.

To the consternation of conservationists, most new vehicles, including aircraft, are purchased for police work, not conservation.

Yosemite Park Ranger Rick Smith says the national rise in crime has been reflected in the parks as well. "We used to get two types of visitors—family groups and backcountry users," says Smith. "Now we have a much more diverse constituency, a small part of which comes to the parks and commits crimes."

Some rangers mark the Yosemite riot of July 4, 1970, as the spark that ignited the law enforcement boom. Some 500 youths had gathered in the park's Stoneman Meadow for a loud and messy holiday party. By early evening rangers appeared and announced a curfew, demanding the meadow be cleared. After 15 minutes the rangers, on foot and horseback, charged the unruly mob and attempted to clear the meadow with mace, ropes and nightsticks.

The result was a full-scale riot that required reinforcements. The battle continued through the night and by dawn 135 people had been arrested and 30 hospitalized.

Rangers responded by demanding more training, equipment and expertise.

Two months later the Park Service requested a \$660,000 supplemental appropriation from Congress, specifically for law enforcement. Rep. Julia Hansen (D-Wash.) declared that "Our national parks cannot be a breeding ground for crime and dope pushers."

►Protection from other people.

That appropriation marked a major shift in Park Service policy away from the two purposes spelled out in the 1916 National Parks Act: enhancing enjoyment by the public and preservation for future generations.

While police powers have always been a necessary part of the rangers' effort to protect park resources, training now focuses on protecting people from other



"I told you not to start forest fires."

people.

The trends set in motion by the Yosemite riot were accelerated by the Aug. 5, 1973, murder of Kenneth Patrick, a Point Reyes National Seashore Ranger. Patrick was reportedly shot when he attempted to arrest deer poachers, who were subsequently tried and convicted.

But felonious crime in the National Parks has not been serious compared to most of urban America. Small cities often have more crime problems than the 240

million visitors bring to all 300 Park Service areas each year.

Prior to the major increases in law enforcement training, crime in the parks was actually decreasing. Aside from petty thefts, crime rates declined from 1971 through 1973. An increase in 1974 may have been attributable to a new crime data-gathering system.

Bernard Shanks is associate professor of Recreation Planning and Management at the University of Nevada at Reno.

By Anthony O. Miller
Pacific News Service

MARKETING

Consumers fleeing computerized check-out

The computerized "laser-eye" grocery store check-out system—heralded as tomorrow's labor-saving technology today—may be in deep trouble with its own biggest booster: the nation's grocery industry.

The Universal Product Code (UPC), that grid of parallel lines and numbers substituting for price tags on grocery products across the U.S. is driving shoppers back to stores with prices on every item, according to an industry-commissioned study by Michigan State University.

The industry is alarmed. Its subcommittee on the UPC has already recommended augmenting the codes with "individual item-marking as is used in conventional supermarkets."

UPCs were adopted by the grocery industry in 1973 to save labor and computerize check-out registers. The markings don't indicate price but simply what the product is: brand name, size and content.

When passed over a "scanner" that "reads" the code, the computerized register—programmed by individual stores to reflect their prices—adds price information to produce a finished receipt.

Scanner-stores usually mark the price of products on the shelf, but not on individual items. This saves store labor but,

as consumer groups have argued, can make finding the price a chore for customers.

Today's recession-squeezed shoppers read newspaper food sections, hunt bargains, follow sales. Those stores whose marking systems make accurate, convenient price-awareness difficult will lose customers, the study confirms, to stores with conventional pricing.

Among the 3000-shopper, \$75,000 study's unsettling discoveries were the following:

- "Forty percent of shoppers [had] difficulty seeing prices in scanner-stores, compared to 15 percent for conventional stores."

- "Price errors made by shoppers were 'significantly larger' in [UPC] scanner-equipped stores."

- At the check stand, "shoppers in conventional stores [knew] the correct prices

71 percent of the time, compared with 56 percent for shoppers in scanner-stores."

- "Forty-three percent of scanner-store shoppers switched to another store, compared with 26 percent for the conventional store."

Industry reaction to the anti-UPC recommendation has ranged from angry opposition to hope that it will indicate the industry's ability to act as its own watchdog.

The director of a UPC-involved Canadian chain bristled at the conclusion's audacity. And, as reported in a recent issue of *Supermarket News*, Wayne H. Fisher, chairman of Lucky Stores, "vehemently disagreed with the subcommittee recommendations."

Supermarket News also quoted Ralphs Grocery chairman Byron Allumbaugh as saying he feared the report "has got to fire added impetus to legislation" for manda-

tory item pricing.

But other industry spokesmen thought the report would defuse criticism from consumer groups. "It is our sincere hope," said Joseph Danzansky, president of Giant Food Stores and a member of the subcommittee, "that this statesmanlike approach by the industry will finally convince consumers, labor and legislators of our sincerity and that the drive for needless legislation will end."

Reaction to the report from organized labor, which has opposed UPCs as a threat to jobs, was enthusiastic. "The study results are absolutely fantastic for the consumer," Retail Clerks union president Walter Davis told *Supermarket News*. "The poll shows what consumers have been saying all along. We're still going full speed ahead with (item-pricing) legislation."

In the end, the retention of item-pricing may depend less on legislators or subcommittee recommendations than on the study's own, grudgingly acknowledged discovery: The customer has the final say.

As Kim Stewart, vice president of Tri-City Grocery Co. near East St. Louis, Ill., told *Supermarket News*, "One thing is for sure: if the customers don't like it, we aren't going to do it."

Anthony O. Miller is a San Francisco Bay Area freelance writer.

Montana Jackalope visits San Clemente

By (Screamin') Montana Jackalope

Even out in Montana where I'm from, we got pretty worked up by some of the criminal illegalities of our former Chief Executive, Dick Nixon. The fake drag-out of the Vietnam war was bad. Watergate was maybe worse. Although you get to be pretty worldly-wise watching Walter Cronkite all winter long in the mountains, one or two things are still sacred in this Fine Democracy of Ours, and until Watergate the honorableness of the Chief Executive was one of them.

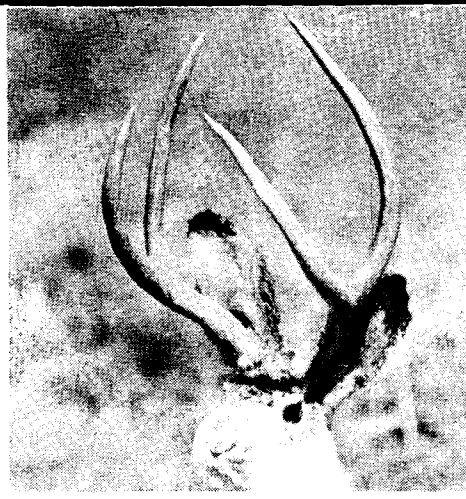
But if you had to pick out the bottom, hang-knot lowest of Richard Nixon's crimes, the Montana vote would surely go for the imposition of the Double Nickel, the 55 mile-per-hour speed limit.

You see, until Mr. Nixon decided to whip up the American public about the so-called Arab energy crisis so that the oil companies could raise the price of gas, Montana didn't have any speed limit at all. You'd be ambling along in the fast-lane doing 85, fumbling for an active channel on the old CB, when three ranchers in four-wheel drive pickup trucks, a 14-year-old kid on his daddy's John Deere tractor, and a wheat farmer up top of his combine would all whiz by you on the right. And they'd each be cursing at you to move to California, too, where there's so many cars you can't drive at a reasonable speed anyway.

So with a new President in office and Watergate slipping into the brain of historical memory for the American people, I figured it was high time to pay a little visit to San Clemente and have a face-to-face talk with old Dick about the 55 mph speed limit. Honorable modulation among honorable men, you see. Who knows? Maybe the lowered limit was one of those awful crimes our President didn't know anything about.

San Clemente is on a little seaward bulge of I-5, the fast road between San Diego and Seattle. As soon as I steered the old Grizzly Frog, the hunkered down '54 Chevy I use for casual CB visits, off the

"Break Two-One for the Chief," I shot past the guard. . . Did Richard Milhouse Nixon, 37th President of the United States, have his ears on?



Interstate on to Avenida del Presidente, I understood why old Dick set up camp in San Clemente. It's not exactly Berchtesgarden, but perched on the sea cliffs between Camp Pendleton and the training grounds of the Pacific Fleet, it's close enough for country.

Now the problem was locating the former chief smokey's lair. I twirled the dial like an insomniac hunting for Johnny Carson. Sure enough, the locals had their resident channel, Channel 21.

"Break Channel 21 for a little local info," says I. "What's the exac' Home-20 of your El Presidente, if you please?"

"Hey, Breaker," came back a shout, "you ain't an assassin or a reporter are you?"

Which is worse?" I asked.

Well, you gotta allow for small town people. They tend to protect their own, and I reckon Old Dick brought in a lot of business in his time, what with the visiting reporters and the state department fellows buying out the tic-tac mints and the body deoderants from all the local drugstores. I wanted to be careful. There's still a few Americans out there who'd be Sunday-pleased if our former President called a press conference on the beach below his house to tell us he'd found the missing 18 minutes and wanted his job back.

"Rest easy," I told my guide. "I just want to tell him I for one never thought he was a crook."

"Take a right at the first doberman," he said assured.

Mr. Nixon lives in Cypress Shores, a guarded estate with a brick wall nine feet tall all around. I don't think the wall was built to keep the rabbits out. He bought this Spanish mansion from old Mr. Cotton, a kingmaker behind Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic "people's" President. I always thought there was a lesson in corporate crossover there.

Anyway, by the time I rolled up to the guardhouse I had great expectations for a Class A Modulation. Maybe our conversation would extend beyond the Double Nickel. Maybe I'd get a couple more heavy questions answered, too. Like whether the real logjam scandal behind the watergate was that Dick had been taking bribes from the South Vietnamese government to prolong the war. Or more important: what ever happened to David Eisenhower and King Tamohoe?

I tipped my hat and told the Pinkerton to phone in to the Former Chief that the (Screamin') Montana Jackalope was waiting to pay a social call.

The Pink just looked me up and down, from my Tony Lama boots to my Resistol

hat, and motioned with his index finger to turn around—pronto.

I was stuck in Memphis with the Mobile blues again. Abplanalp's Ozone was beating down on me, and there was no way to make contact.

Then the Obvious Solution flashed before me like a flaming barge on the Cuyahoga River. You're writing a CB column: call him on the old CB!

I lunged for the power-mike and pressed the talk button. "Break for . . ." But there I stopped cold as a frozen mallard. How do you address the disgraced former President of the United States on the old Two-Way?

What would his handle be? Mr. Tapes? Still-Smiling? The Old Exile?

I read a pretty good poem once by Pablo Neruda. Mr. Neruda would have been the Jack King of Handle Creators if CB had made it to Chile before the coup, but I don't think Dick would have gone for the handle Mr. Neruda laid on him in the poem: The Hyena. Even if Mr. Neruda was a Nobel Laureate, he was just another commie to Dick.

I opted for the polite solution.

"Break Two One for the Chief," I shot past the guard, over the nine foot wall, and into the Spanish-gabled living room of the old Cotton Estate.

Did Richard Milhouse Nixon, 37th President of the United States, have his ears on?

(Here you'll have to trust me. You know I wouldn't lie because the Respectability of the Socialist Press, such as it is, depends on it.)

The haggard prim voice of an older lady breaker warbled out of the dashboard speaker on the old Grizzly Frog. "Negative contact. This is Pat," said the modulator anti-climactically. "The President don't break for no Jackalopes."

"10-77," I echoed, turning off the set and firing up the Frog.

I wanted to hightail it back to the Interstate before Pat Nixon could call in the Marines on Channel 9.

10-4.

Sam Brown and the Banks

Continued from page 4.

income individuals.

You've said at various times that you support a market economy and, on the other hand, that there should be state-run enterprises. Exactly what kind of market economy do you support?

First of all, one that works—which we don't have now because it's distorted. Primarily it's distorted by a market controlled by major multinational corporations. The reason I talk about having some state enterprises is simply that there are some things that are natural monopolies and there's no reason that we ought to sanction private profit off of what is a natural monopoly.

It's clear nationally that in utilities, where they're owned by the people, rates are 5 or 6 percent less than those that are held by corporate owners. They're more efficient. They don't have to be frightening and drive people away, making them think of specters of massive statism. It simply means that people have to begin to talk about what they can see.

What about the banks?

Banks are interesting. We're one of the few industrialized countries without a central bank that really works as a central bank. I would be in favor of formation of [public banks]. Not so much a central bank, because then what you get is someone off in Washington making decisions about what's good for us, and I don't think they've done a terrifically good job of that over a period of time.

It comes back to scale. My feeling about scale is it ought to be run at the lowest level it can possibly run at and still function.

Having a national bank running out of Washington, D.C., hell, we might as well have Chase Manhattan do it.

But I would be in favor of, for instance, cities forming banks, like the bank of North Dakota. Banks that make sure that the city's money and the people's money stays where it came from, that it's reinvested there instead of being exported all over the country. In the Northeast, part of the capital shortage is not because they're capital short, but because the banks export the money to the Sunbelt.

You see these banks as competing with private banks, not taking over their functions?

Yes. It's interesting that public enterprise takes a tremendous amount of knocks, but the bank of North Dakota is one of the most profitable in the country. It just returns the profits back to the state instead of to shareholders so that everybody in the state shares in the prosperity in a more equitable fashion. It doesn't have to be inefficient because it's publicly run. What's happened is the public sector has taken over the ownership of what the private sector has already raided—like the Northeast railroads.

Then you do believe it's the role of the government to step in and redistribute the wealth?

Redistribution is a pretty scary word. But the government is the only social agency that can in fact do that. You can let it trickle down eventually through corporate ownership, but that just hasn't happened very well. So, yeah, I think the state is really the only institution which

can serve to bring some greater equitability to the economic system. All those words—equitability, redistribution—are frightening.

To whom?

Well, I think to most all of us in some ways. They have overtones that we don't like. They sound like a flat, dull, level, even gray sort of society, which I sure don't want. But I don't believe that's a natural consequence of greater equitability. I think that in fact what happens is a tremendous number of social tensions are relieved so all of us have more space in which to live.

If most people are afraid of those terms, how would you go about gaining power over the dominance of the mega-corporations?

I think that's a helluva long building process. It seems that's what the last ten years have been about—building a base. We'll always be outspent—so the only way to beat that is a long-term organization. Fifteen years ago we were going to change the world by tomorrow morning. We're into more incremental things now. You take your victories where you can get them—move a little bit, establish a new base, move a little bit.

Do you think your policies as treasurer have established a new base here in Colorado?

They've helped.

Do you think those policies will survive?

That's a problem because if I leave, the governor will appoint a successor who'll have to be confirmed by the Senate, and they may make [abolishing] my policies a precondition of confirmation.

Two years ago, when you ran for this office, you told David Broder that you thought the action was here at the grassroots, not in Washington. Do you think the action—no pun intended—has now shifted to Washington?

"It seems that's what the last ten years have been about — building a base. We'll always be outspent—so the only way to beat that is a long-term organization. Fifteen years ago we were going to change the world by tomorrow morning. We're into more incremental things now."

No. . . ACTION has an opportunity to deal directly with a lot of neighborhood groups, to provide direct kinds of support, and I'm really interested. I still think the action is what's going on in the states. It's different everywhere. What's going on in New York may not make sense at all in Los Angeles. ACTION's an agency that can respond [to those differences].

How far down the road in the direction you want to go do you think Jimmy Carter can take us?

[Index finger and thumb a half-inch apart]. Not all the way to Jerusalem. But I don't think anybody else can either. It's not a criticism of him. The times require a certain amount of growth and change to move along that road. If Fred Harris had been elected President, I've always felt he'd be able to take us further. But it may be that a Southerner with a conservative reputation will be able to do things that somebody who came in with a progressive reputation would be stymied at. So far, I sure as hell have been impressed.

ART <> ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Sexual arrangements must be altered in a revolutionary way

THE MERMAID AND THE MINOTAUR: SEXUAL ARRANGEMENTS AND HUMAN MALAISE

By Dorothy Dinnerstein
Harper and Row, 1976, \$10.95

When Shulamith Firestone wrote *The Dialectic of Sex* in 1969 it was a book of its time, a call to action that belonged to the fire and rage of the women's movement in its most heated early days. It proved unsettling to even the most militant women.

Many feminist works have been written since Firestone's but none that so dramatically reflects the development of feminist theory during the past eight years as *The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise* by Dorothy Dinnerstein. It took ten years to produce and is as visionary and subversive as Firestone's "case for feminist revolution." It represents the careful fleshing out of ideas born in the intense apocalyptic energy of the late '60s—ideas that needed time and perspective to mature.

Dinnerstein's implicit criticism of the early stages of the women's movement is that (like other movements of the '60s) it moved too fast, and fostered the illusion that conscious awareness of the societal problems would bring solutions overnight. Now, ten years later, we are faced with the recognition that sexism, the problems of romantic love, and the failures of the nuclear family require deep and often painful personal transformations to resolve and must be matched by equally staggering cultural changes as well.

Dinnerstein (a psychologist at Rutgers) says that her work is not "scholarly," but she's wrong. With this book Dinnerstein brings feminist theory back into

the mainstream of philosophical thought.

Because her argument is subtle, moving through many levels of reality, it is difficult to synthesize. Essentially, she centers the entire developmental history of the human species around the relationships between mother and child, and between adult men and women. She builds her central thesis on Freud's perception that one of the great strains on the development of personality is the fact that the primary presence in infancy and early childhood is a female who provides the child's "initial contact with humanity and nature."

Female-dominated childrearing and existing sex roles, says Dinnerstein, focus a profound and destructive ambivalence on the mother. She must provide all love and nurturance, and as a result she receives both the child's love and hatred. To the infant's mind the mother is indistinguishable from the self (a problem even more complex for the female infant). The father becomes the Other, the sole representation of the adult (or outer) world. To grow, the child must complete its separation from the mother and move into this adult world. But this traumatic break provokes profound and culturally sanctioned anger and resentment toward the mother and women in general.

Dinnerstein does not end her analysis with the child. "The early mother's apparent omnipotence, then her ambivalent role as the ultimate source of good and evil, is a central source of human malaise." The adult, unable to overcome either the childhood needs to be taken care of or the fear of being controlled, continues to act out this ambivalence in all relationships—an insight doc-

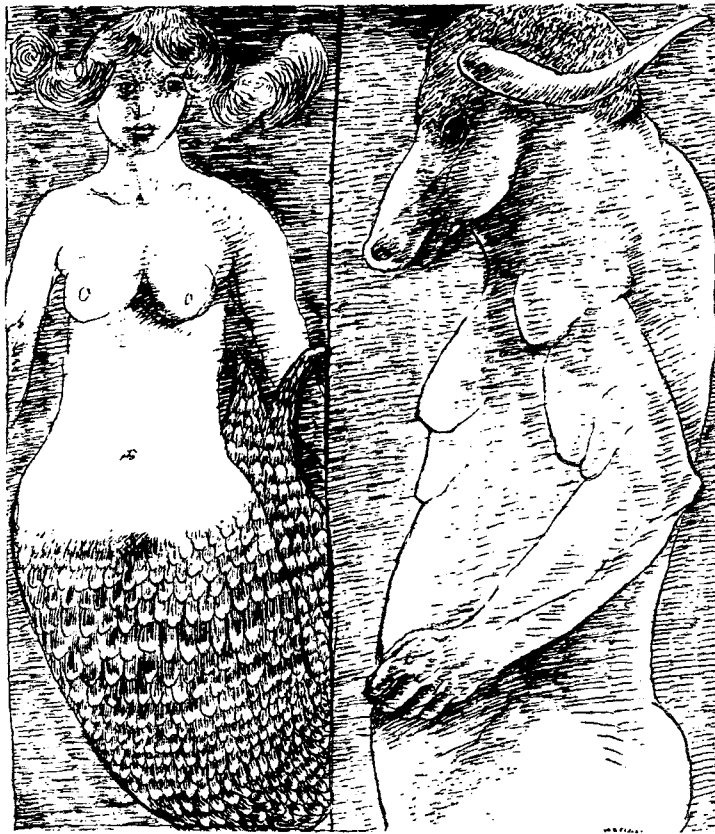
umented with great perceptivity throughout the book.

Most significantly, the existing sex roles—the "rules of gender" as she calls them—serve a reactionary function in the culture. They perpetuate a deep ambivalence towards adult freedom and responsibility. They hold us back from actualizing our potential and keep us stuck in the "familiar," fearful of social change. This conservatism has its most devastating effect on women. "The universal exploitation of women is rooted in our attitudes towards early parental figures, and will go on until these figures are male as well as female."

The short range solution to this problem is to extend the responsibility for child-rearing to larger family units that will enable primary parent-child bonds to be diffused among many adults and to work towards a "shared early parenthood" in which men will assume an equally intimate relation to the child from birth.

Dinnerstein predicts nothing short of disaster if these and other "sexual arrangements" are not taken seriously and transformed. She analyzes why men hate women, why women often hate and resent each other, why men fear women, and why the culture as a whole, experiencing nature as "she," will continue to rape the land of its resources until destructiveness towards women is dealt with as a societal problem.

Her conclusions, if somewhat apocalyptic, are not fatalistic. The human social system, unlike any other system in nature, she tells us, is capable of averting "chaos, stagnation, and self-annihilation," by consciously envisioning the consequences of its actions and providing alternative



methods. To transform the "lethal symbiosis" between men and women we need to "understand as deeply as possible the phenomenon that we wish to change."

In both her method and her conclusions she demonstrates that the women's movement must reevaluate its original premises and achieve expanded psychological understanding and a rethought plan of action.

Dinnerstein is rooted in an intellectual tradition that includes Freud, Marcuse, Melanie Klein, Norman O. Brown and, most significantly, Simone de Beauvoir. Although she recognizes that Freud has been rightly attacked by women for taking male development as the norm and viewing female development as an aberration, she doesn't let this keep her from using what she calls "the revolutionary conceptual tool" that Freud has put into our hands.

Like de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, *The Mermaid and the Minotaur* builds on work already done and adds innovative information

and vision to already existing psychological thought.

The power of Dinnerstein's work is that however one may try to resist its conclusions, one finds on each page basic truths about human relationships that we know through our own experience to be correct. We may question her data or the immediate viability of her solutions, but it is impossible not to be deeply moved by the scope of her vision, the passionate intensity of her argument and her ability to present complex levels of reality in a poetic and accessible style.

She adds one more layer to a growing body of feminist theory that provides precisely what we know needs to be done: the careful reevaluation of cultural and human relationships from the perspective of women. And she presents a challenge to the imagination to integrate these perceptions into a vision of a new society transformed by a restructuring of economic relations in ways that reach the deepest levels of human consciousness.

—Carol Becker

Smedley on Chinese women

PORTRAITS OF CHINESE WOMEN IN REVOLUTION

By Agnes Smedley
The Feminist Press: Old Westbury, NY
Paperback, \$3.95

Agnes Smedley is one of America's unknown literary giants.

Her books were removed from many libraries during the anti-Communist hysteria of the early 1950s and her books of eyewitness reportage of the Chinese revolution have not been as widely read as Edgar Snow's in this period of new interest in China. Now the Feminist Press has issued a new work by Smedley: a collection of short pieces culled from books and magazine articles, aptly titled *Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution*.

Some of these women are unfortunate victims of changes seething in China in the second quarter of this century. A young wife, her feet crippled from early

binding, pathetically asks Smedley to teach her to dance to American phonograph records, so she can compete with a Russian dance hall girl her husband fancies.

Some, like the treacherous Hwa-chuan (in a story ironically called "The Martyr's Widow") use all the traditional feminine wiles in a time of constant power struggles to further their own position, no matter who dies in the process. Some, like Mother Tsai or the mother in "Shan-fei, Communist," use the traditional ways of women to further new struggles: Mother Tsai to help the Red Army; Shan-fei's mother to help her daughter escape forced marriage and become a modern educated woman.

In all the stories, Smedley manages to show women embedded in the shifting social context, to convey how the changes in the great world of politics are played

out in the lives of individuals, and how those individuals, like Shan-fei, can become part of a force that changes the great world.

We see how women's needs and those of a revolution sometimes mesh, sometimes clash. Most of all we see what Westerners often find missing in reports on People's China today: real human beings and how they feel about their lives as they swirl in the tide of history.

Decades before New Journalism, Smedley knew how to mix her own subjectivity with her subject matter. She describes the combination of pantomime and picture-drawing she used to communicate with militant women silk workers in Kwangtung. Her Chinese male interpreter was so disgusted by these independent women who refused to marry and went brazenly to the cinema together, holding hands yet, that he refused to accompany Smedley.



Photo by Agnes Smedley

She went alone and got the story anyway.

At another point she compares the Chinese miners to those she grew up among in Trinidad, Colorado. She says of her own work, "I leave the miners feeling once more that I am nothing but a writer, a mere onlooker. I look at their big, black-veined hands, at their cloth shoes worn down to their socks or bare feet, at their soiled shoes. I know there is no chance for me ever to know them, to share their lives. I remain a teller of tales, a writer of things through which I have not lived."

Smedley is too modest.

Her novel, *Daughter of Earth*,

ought to be part of every class in the American novel, and perhaps soon it will be. The Feminist Press rescued and reprinted this fine semi-autobiographical story of a miner's daughter who struggles to get an education and escape the lot of the women around her but who is torn by conflicts because she refuses to turn her back on her roots. It's a great proletarian novel, squarely centered in a woman's experience of growing up, love and involvement in social movements. To date, thanks probably to the growing network of Women's Studies courses, the reprint has sold 30,000 copies.

—Judy MacLean

THEATER

A funny thing happened to them on way to success as stand-up comedians

COMEDIANS

By Trevor Griffiths

Directed (on Broadway) by Mike Nichols
Published in paperback by Grove Press,
\$2.95

A little after eight, as the theater audience is settling down, six working-class Manchester lads come straggling into their night school class. They are studying to be comedians, stand up pub comics, under the guidance of Eddie Waters, their honorable old mentor.

Waters has been teaching them that comedy, like every other art—like all meaningful work—must be based not only upon fine technique, but also upon some underlying moral purpose. Their comedy has to be about something that matters.

This evening is the night of their final, a pass or fail performance at the local pub, which will be judged by a visiting examiner from the national comics guild. He will offer a professional engagement to those that make the grade.

As the men nervously rib each other we get to know, and, for the most part, to like them. And we quickly see how much it means to pass. For each of them it is the one way out of a dead end working class job.

Waters enters and puts them through their paces. They improvise on words, sounds or topics. He berates them for jokes that are racist or sexist; instructs them either to dump the facile humor or to bring out and examine the underlying hate.

In the course of the warm up exercises, it slips out that the examiner they are waiting for (a man named Challenor) is an old enemy of Eddie Waters'. Waters tries to play it down. The grudge won't carry over to the students. They're good lads. The best class he's ever had. They should just proceed with the routines they've been working on all term. But when Challenor finally arrives we learn that there's much more than a grudge between the two men.

Challenor is the arch enemy of everything Waters stands for.

He gives the men a few helpful pointers before the test. "You must seek your audience's level—which is low." Don't use your platform to espouse any cause of your own. "No chips on your shoulder. Spread the barbs around." A black joke, a Pakistani joke, hit on the women's libbers. If they follow his advice "they may all hope at least to be Bob Hopes some day. (Hah, hah)"

With that the class adjourns to the local pub to be graded. End of Act I.

From here on the action is as inevitable and suspenseful as a classic like *Oedipus*. Each man is being asked to sell out the significance of his art for the opportunity to go on practicing it. The audience watches in horror as some do and some don't.

After the performance, they adjourn back to the classroom for their grades. The sell-outs pass; those with integrity fail. The end of the third act centers on a conflict that has not been set up till this point.

The most talented, intense and crazy kid in the class has substituted a new routine at the last minute, one that not only fails the Bob Hope test, but fails to impress Waters because he sees no love and no art in it. There ensues a battle between youth and age, art and propaganda, revolution and social democracy.

To Trevor Griffith's great credit, he gives each man his due without reducing the politics to a matter of psychiatry. Yes, the old man is worn down by time and loneliness. Yes, the youth has been brought up without love. But so what? Perhaps it's true that many Weathermen wanted to kill their parents. But that's not why they were wrong (if they were). And perhaps older liberals are now simply tired from isolation and defeats. But that's not what makes them wrong (if they are).

I saw *Comedians* twice and each time I thought a different side won the argument. That's probably because I'm 35. Exactly between their two ages.

One amazing fact: when the

play begins, the classroom clock shows a little after eight. All the action—lectures, contest, judging—takes place in the two and a half hours that follow. (The trips to the pub and back happen during intermissions.) There is no dramatic telescoping of time. And yet there is never the sense of things moving slowly. Once in a while your eye may stray to the clock; you notice how late it's getting; you're sorry because that means you won't get to know these men better before the examiner comes, or the janitor locks up.

Comedians is an incredible feat of writing.

—Barbara Garson

Barbara Garson is the author of *MacBird* and *All the Livelong Day: the Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work*, Penguin, \$1.95.



FILM

Freaky Friday: not for females

FREAKY FRIDAY

Screenplay by Mary Rodgers, based on her book

Directed by Gary Nelson, Rated G

Starring Barbara Harris and Jodie Foster

Freaky Friday, starring Barbara Harris and Jodie Foster, is the latest bit of "family fun" to emerge from the Disney studios. It is a sadistic little number that panders to our worst values and stereotypes.

Normally this sort of picture is ignored by reviewers. But when a film grosses \$400,000 in its first two weeks of release, it is getting to a lot of viewers. It might be a good idea to look at what sort of swill the audience is being fed.

The story idea is amusing enough—and harmless. A mother (Barbara Harris) and a daughter (Jodie Foster, the teenage hooker of *Taxi Driver*) start out the day at loggerheads. The bones of contention are everyday family fare: messy rooms, junk-food breakfast. They each wish to be in the other's shoes.

Suddenly, the metamorphosis takes place—by magic. The humor and the conflict of the movie reside in the fact that neither mother nor daughter has the skills to fill the other's role. Annabel can't drive a car, but as her mother, must. Mrs. Andrews can't play a glockenspiel or march in the school band, but must as Annabel. This would be funny enough if the lives of each of them were not such empty stereotypes.

The film makers take it for granted that mother's role is to be exclusively at the service of husband and child. Never mind if Daddy expects her to single-handedly cater a huge buffet lunch for a large group of his business associates and clients. Never mind if daughter is expected to attend school classes, band rehearsal, have friends and also perform as star water-skier to entertain Daddy's crowd in the afternoon.

The men in the picture show that if they are tough and demanding the fliberty gibbet little

women will shape up and do their bidding. Even the boys look on both women as pure sex objects.

This isn't family "fun"—it is propaganda. It is propaganda for male/female roles that are rapidly becoming obsolete. It seems hard to believe that Disney's Hollywood suburbia could be so totally unconscious that there is a world out there a-stirring.

Freaky Friday may not have blood and gore all over the floor—qualifying it for general viewing—but it has plenty of psychological violence. In the end mother and daughter resume their own persons, glad not to have to live the other's life—but with no feeling of compassion one for the other. Neither realizes that her own life is pretty grizzly. No one would want to be a female after seeing this "hilariously funny" picture. It's the pits.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor in New York, and reviews films regularly for *In These Times*.

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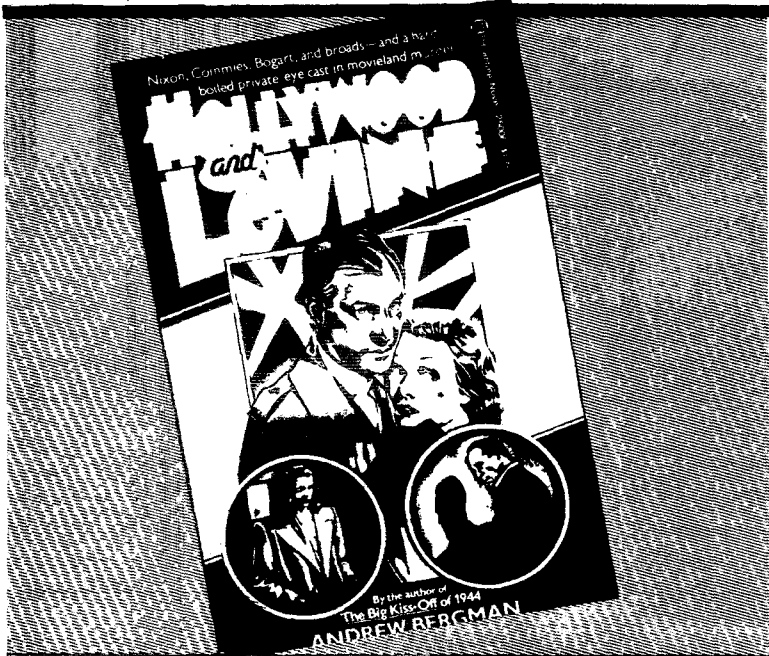
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BOOKS

Private (left) eye hunts Hollywood witchhunters

HOLLYWOOD AND LEVINE
By Andrew Bergman
Ballantine, paperback, \$1.75

Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler have been difficult acts to follow. Very few detective fiction writers have succeeded in breaking the bonds of the formula or in presenting a private eye whose character is strikingly original.

Andrew Bergman attempts with *Hollywood and Levine* to establish himself in the genre. His dick Jack Levine has several unusual traits. First, he's Jewish; second, he's politically left, having signed petitions for Sacco and Vanzetti and for Loyalist Spain.

By 1947, however, Levine has become something of a hack, grinding out a living by investigating suspected marital infidelities. Walter Adrian, a classmate from the City College of New York, now a high-priced Hollywood screenwriter, hires him to find out why Adrian is being canned by his studio.

Soon there is a dead body (Adrian's) and Levine discovers that his old friend was a Communist, a member of the Hollywood CP branch, which faces imminent extinction.

At this point, Bergman introduces actual historical people. Levine is brought to a clandestine meeting with Congressman Richard Nixon, who is readying a House Un-American Activities Committee witchhunt in Tinseltown.

Bergman's Nixon is smart and santonious, obviously a bad guy, but nothing like the foul-mouthed, grubby character the White House tapes revealed.

Levine turns down an assignment to spy on his dead pal's buddies. An FBI informer-provocateur enters the picture along with an unprincipled studio boss and "the kind of a dame who could make you crazy." And Humphrey Bogart (in person) enters the chase.

Bergman is not entirely sympathetic to his Communist characters whose politics, he says, "were just a kind of self-righteous charade." They are timid and ineffective, a sharp contrast to many of the real Communists who helped organize the industry under very difficult conditions. (The film *Hollywood on Trial*, which treats this aspect of Hollywood history, suggests that the effectiveness of Communists in organizing film unions was a major reason for the witchhunts.)

About the right—the FBI, Nixon, the Red hunters—Bergman is resolute. He nails them as villains, and at the book's end, Levine—travelling across the country from California to New York—gets the sense that an essentially decent people are on the precipice of a nervous, nasty period.

Hollywood and Levine is a well-written, facile mystery, but not much more. Bergman has made clever use of the genre's archetypes, but he has failed to

MUSIC

Master of teen tragedy takes a curtain call

PHIL SPECTOR'S GREATEST HITS
Warner-Spector

This is an unusual album in its conception of eulogizing a producer rather than the individual stars of this particular age of rock and roll. Phil Spector was a master of teen tragedies, love refrains and sexual pleas, all packaged in his original arrangements, which usually included cavernous walls of sound that backgrounded and highlighted many of his three-minute masterworks. This album contains all of Spector's great and near Top Ten successes; it also evokes the permanence of our cultural fascination with the melodramatic.

Melodrama is usually associated with 19th century theater, that evolved into the early cinema (most notably D.W. Griffith). It then became manifest in dramatic radio shows of the '30s and '40s and it now exists in its most visible form through the morning and evening soapers of television. Spector's records were able to reproduce such cultural desires in a new format—the 45 disc—whose playing time averages two minutes and 45 seconds.

It was within this framework that he was able to produce *Not Too Young to Get Married* (complete with Greek chorus), *You've Lost That Loving Feeling*, *Walking in the Rain*, *He's a Rebel*, *Uptown*, etc.—hits that became temporary inspirations for so many of their consumers.

transcend them. His book is superior to the confectons of Nicholas Meyer (*The Seven Per Cent Solution*) and the pop junk of Roger Simon (*The Big Fix*). But the post-World War II generation still awaits its first genuinely innovative mystery novelist.

—Sidney Blumenthal

Sidney Blumenthal is the editor of *Governments* by Gunplay (New American Library).

Play this double album while thumbing through a photo collection of Diane Arbus. Her work seems to chronicle Spector's fans in many ways. Her pictures of the overgrown rock holdovers, with their two small kids, are signs of people living in a world that supposedly moved so fast that 45s were the most effective manner of entertainment, intellectual stimulation, and cultural enlightenment.

Spector produced songs of passion, but passion that was either verboten because of age (*We're Not Too Young to Get Married*) immaturity or social stratification (*He's a Rebel*, *Uptown*, *Spanish Harlem*).

His songs were successful because they had a distinctive aural quality, a stamp of personality that distinguishes Spector's productions from all other records of the era, marking them as individualistic attempts both musically and socially. Beyond the distinctive pulsing sound, the echoing refrains, was the direct appeal to the buyer, the members of the 12 to 18 set, those folk who listened to the AM radio and sorted out the unique from the pedestrian.

45s were the mainstay of the record business in the late '50s and early '60s. Spector survived in this corporate business as an individual, a man who personally produced the records that his Phillies label sold. "Be my be my

be my pretty baby, my one and only baby," may not be lyric poetry, but it was lyric sound for AM radio, one that attracted a discerning audience that still exists today.

These songs still make sense and rather than evoking nostalgia, make clear a part of our cultural history. Beyond the groups that Spector created (Ronettes, Righteous Brothers, Crystals) the album contains songs he produced out of his sound labs with previously established personas.

Most notable is Ike and Tina Turner's *River Deep - Mountain High*, Spector's Teutonic-Wagnerian masterpiece of the 45 framework. When this massive attempt met a commercial failure, Spector reacted like any other abused genius: if America refused to accept his ambitious sound arrangements, neglected Tina Turner's scorching vocals, then there was nothing else to do but go into semi-seclusion.

It was also the era of the economic dominance of the album over the 45. Spector's framework for creation was being destroyed. He went on to produce the Beatles—as a group and as individuals—but his career as a producer of 45s had ended.

This album is a successful lament of his artistic passage.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University.

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WINTER 1976-77 ISSUE

'Red Flags and American Dollars', A Preview of Bernardo Bertolucci's new film, "1900", with two interviews; 'The Politics of Luis Bunuel's Later Films' (from *LOS OLVIDADOS* to *DISCREET CHARM*); 'The Left and Porno'; UNDERGROUND, Pro and Con reviews; interviews with Nagisa Oshima on *IN THE REALM OF THE SENSES* and Alain Tanner on *JONAH WHO WILL BE 25 IN THE YEAR 2000*; plus reviews of *THE FRONT*, *MEMORY OF JUSTICE*, *THE LAST WOMAN*, *THE OMEN*, *LET'S TALK ABOUT MEN*, *THE LAST TYCOON*, etc.

SPRING ISSUE: HARLAN COUNTY, U.S.A.; Roberto Rossellini talks about his new film on Karl Marx

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